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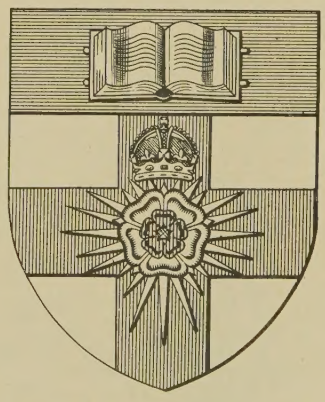

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PAESTAN POTTERY

A Revision and a Supplement *

(Plates I–XVII)

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INTRODUCTION

Since the end of 1935, when my *Paestan Pottery* was written, well over a hundred vases belonging to this fabric have come to light. Many of them have been found as a result of excavations carried out in recent years in and around Paestum itself, notably at Arenosola, Oliveto Citra, Altavilla and Pontecagnano, and are therefore of considerable importance as confirming the location of the manufacturing centre in Paestum. Other previously unknown vases have come into the market from private collections and several 'lost' vases have reappeared.[1] Further, an opportunity to revisit during 1951 most of the major collections in the museums of Western Europe and America has enabled me to add several vases to the list as well as to correct a number of errors. There have also been some important new publications on the subject. In 1935 Marzullo published a preliminary study of the painted tombs discovered at Paestum three years earlier (*Tombe dipinte scoperte nel territorio pestano*), and a fuller and better illustrated account of the pottery finds, together with a publication of related material from other nearby sites, appeared in two articles by Giovanni Patroni, entitled 'Vasi Pestani', in the *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* ii (1939), pp. 221–258 with figs. 1–37, and iii (1940), pp. 3–36 with figs. 38–72, to which, for the sake of convenience, I shall in future refer as *VP*. A bell-krater acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1942 was published by Beazley in *AJA* xlviii (1944), pp. 357–366, in an article entitled 'A Paestan Vase', in which he made some important observations on the workshop of Asteas and Python. The time, therefore, seems ripe for the issue of a supplement to my original publication in order to incorporate the new vases, of which many of the most significant are here illustrated, and to make such revisions to the text and lists of attributions as seem called for in the light of the new evidence now to hand.

In its preparation I owe much to the help and advice I have received from many scholars, notably Sir John Beazley, Mrs. A. D. Ure, Dr. A. Cambitoglou, who most kindly furnished me with much valuable information about the vases in English provincial museums, Dr. D. von Bothmer, who performed a similar service for America,

* The publication of this article was generously assisted by a grant from the University of Sydney.

[1] Most notable among these are: Hope 268–270 and 278, now Sydney 48.05, 48.06, W5 and 48.04 respectively; Hope 280, now in Dundee; the Disney krater, now Cambridge 43.7; and the bell-krater formerly in the Vatican Library, now Reading University 51.7.11.

and in particular Dr. P. C. Sestieri, Superintendent of Antiquities at Salerno, who most generously gave me the fullest facilities for the study and publication of the vases from recent finds at Paestum and Pontecagnano. For permission to study and publish vases in their charge, or for photographs, I am deeply indebted to the following: Mr. B. Ashmole of the British Museum, Mr. C. Winter and the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Dr. D. B. Harden of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Mr. P. F. Nyhan of the National Museum, Dublin, and Dr. H. D. Skinner of the Otago Museum, Dunedin; also to Drs. A. Maiuri and Anna Rocco of Naples, Dr. V. Panebianco of the Museo Provinciale, Salerno, Dr. L. Bernabò Brea of Syracuse, Dr. G. Jacopi of Reggio Calabria, Dr. C. Drago of Taranto, Dr. C. Carducci of Turin; to Sr. Vázquez de Parga at Madrid, M. Robert Mesuret of the Musée St. Raymond, Toulouse, Dr. W. Deonna of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, Dr. H. Bloesch of Zurich University, Dr. F. Eichler of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, M. Pierre Devambez of the Louvre and Mlle. Fabre of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; and in America to Dr. G. H. Chase of Boston Museum, Professor R. S. Young of Pennsylvania University, Professor L. A. Post of Haverford College, Professor H. R. W. Smith of the University of California, Miss Frances F. Jones, and Mr. David Rockefeller. Lastly it is a pleasure to express my profound gratitude to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for a grant which enabled me to travel extensively in both Europe and America, and to the Research Committee of Sydney University for financial assistance towards the cost of the illustrations to this article.

The text which immediately follows the revised Catalogue of vases is intended to be read in conjunction with *Paestan Pottery*, which it supplements and, where necessary, corrects in the light of the recent additions. I may add that, with the exception of the 'lost' vases, I have been able personally to examine all but ten of the vases here listed.

REVISED CATALOGUE OF PAESTAN VASES

THE following catalogue lists all the Paestan vases known to me at the time of writing (December 1951); nine other vases, which have come to my notice since then and bring the grand total to 532, have been added with *bis* numbers, in order not to disturb the sequence. They are arranged on the same general system as in *Paestan Pottery*, and the numbers there given to them are here placed in brackets immediately following their new numbers. References are given to *Paestan Pottery* (abbreviated throughout as *PP*) and to any significant subsequent publications, but not otherwise; the bibliographical abbreviations used are those listed in *PP*, p. xi; see also below, p. 28, n. 13. The dimensions are noted only of those vases that now appear in the catalogue for the first time. An asterisk is placed beside the vases illustrated on plates I–XVII.

I. EARLY PAESTAN (*c.* 380–350)

(i) *The Dirce Painter*

Calyx-kraters

1 (1). **Syracuse** 36334, from Fusco, Syracuse. (*a*) Pylades, Electra and Orestes; (*b*) young silen and maenad. *PP*, p. 7, pl. I*a*; *CVA*, IV E (844), pl. 2, 1–2; *Dioniso* x (1947), pp. 124–136, fig. 4.

2 (2). **Berlin** F 3296, from Palazzuolo. (*a*) Punishment of Dirce; (*b*) maenad between two silens. *PP*, p. 7, pls. II*a* and III*a*.

* 3 (3). **Vatican** U 21 (formerly X 72). (*a*) Three maenads and a young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 9, pl. III*c*; (*b*) here pl. II*a*.

4 (4). **Vienna** 986. (*a*) Two silens and a maenad with Eros; (*b*) two draped women, one holding a large fillet. *PP*, p. 9, pl. III*d*.

* 5. **Madrid** 11026 (L. 388). Ht. 31. (*a*) Phlyax scene—Zeus with attendant and flute-player; (*b*) two draped youths. Ossorio pl. 39; Leroux, pl. 49; Wüst, *RE* xx, 293, no. 3; Zahn, *FR* iii, 180 n. 5 (m); here pl. I.

Bell-kraters

6 (5). **Syracuse** 36332, from Fusco, Syracuse. (*a*) Odysseus and Diomede slaying Dolon in the presence of Athena; (*b*) two maenads and a silen. *PP*, p. 9, pl. II*b* and III*b*; *CVA*, IV E (851), pl. 9, 1–2; Picard, *CRAI* 1942, p. 244; Béquignon, *L' Iliade illustrée*, p. 140.

7 (6). **Syracuse** 36319, from Fusco, Syracuse. (*a*) Philoctetes; (*b*) a maenad seated between two young silens. *PP*, p. 7 pl. I*b*; *CVA*, IV E (850), pl. 8, 1–3.

8 (7). **Naples** 2097 (81465), from Bari. (*a*) Two maenads and a silen; (*b*) young silen pursuing maenad. *PP*, p. 9, fig. 4.

Lekane

9 (8). **Naples** RC 265 (86405 = Heyd. 47), from Cumae. Two women and two Erotes. *PP*, p. 9, fig. 3.

(ii) *Followers of the Dirce Painter*

Calyx-kraters

10 (9). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 260. (*a*) Two maenads and a silen; (*b*) youth and woman. *PP*, p. 11, fig. 7.

* 11. **Lipari,** from Lipari. (*a*) Silen, seated woman and Dionysus; (*b*) two draped women. Pl. II*b*.

12 (13). **Copenhagen,** National Museum 9183. (*a*) Young silen with a seated and a standing maenad; (*b*) young silen with thyrsus and maenad with fillet. *PP*, p. 13; *CVA*, pl. 243, 1*a* and *b*.

13. **Erbach.** (*a*) ?; (*b*) two women, one with wreath and thyrsus, the other with a mirror. *AJA* 1944, p. 365.

14. **Madrid** 32653 (formerly Prado 120). Ht. 41; diam. 39. (*a*) Silen, standing woman with tambourine, seated woman, and standing woman with foot raised; (*b*) two youths beside a column.

15 (17). **Naples** 147324, from Castelcapuano. (*a*) Two maenads with Eros and silen; (*b*) woman between two youths. *PP*, p. 14.

16 (16). Once **Zurich,** Ruesch Coll. (*a*) Comic actor (Sikon) between two women; (*b*) woman and seated youth by stele. *PP*, p. 14, fig. 10; *Sale Cat.* no. 33, pls. 19–20; Wüst, *RE* xx, 299, no. 49; *CQ* 1948, p. 25.

17 (10). **Vienna** 993. (*a*) Seated maenad and silen with Eros; (*b*) silen pursuing maenad. *PP*, p. 11.

18 (12). **Naples** 146775, from Castelcapuano. (*a*) Draped woman with cista; (*b*) standing youth. *PP*, p. 13.

19 (11). **Louvre** K 235. (*a*) Silen pursuing maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. Modern foot and much repainting. *PP*, p. 13.

20 (14). **Louvre** K 237. (*a*) Two maenads with Eros; (*b*) two maenads. *PP*, p. 13.

21 (15). **Louvre** K 236. (*a*) Three women and Eros; (*b*) two women with a large palmette between them. *PP*, p. 13, fig. 8.

Bell-kraters

22 (18). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 263. (*a*) Dionysus between a young silen and a seated and a standing maenad; (*b*) maenad and silen. *PP*, p. 11.

23 (19). **Dublin,** University College (once Hope 266), on loan to the National Museum. (*a*) Two women beside a laver with a silen and another woman; (*b*) youth between two women. *Hope Heirlooms*, no. 15; *PP*, p. 14, fig. 9.

24 (20). **Tischbein** I 34, from Capua. (*a*) Dionysus and Ariadne with a silen and a young satyr; (*b*) lost. *PP*, p. 11.

25. **Syracuse** 51282, from Sicily. Ht. 36; diam. 32. (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr with oenochoe and kantharos; (*b*) two draped youths. Part of the figure of Dionysus on (*a*) is missing and has been repainted.

* 26. **Madrid** 11033 (L. 381). Ht. 22; diam. 22. (*a*) Eros standing before a seated woman with tambourine, (*b*) two draped women. Pl. II*c*.

Hydria

27 (21). **B.M.** F 156, from Nola. Body: Dionysiac revel; shoulder: two youths and two girls; under the handles: owls. *PP*, p. 11.

Skyphoi

28 (22). **Berlin** F 2960, from Viterbo. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) young silen. *PP*, p. 13.

29 (23). **B.M.** F 129, from Nola. (*a*) and (*b*) Two women conversing. *PP*, p. 11.

30 (24). **B.M.** F 130, from Nola. (*a*) Seated silen and maenad; (*b*) silen pursuing maenad. *PP*, p. 11.

31 (25). **Louvre** K 344, from Nola. (*a*) Seated woman and silen; (*b*) two women conversing. *PP*, p. 13.

Lebes gamikos

32 (26). **Cefalù,** Museo Mandralisca 8, from Lipari. (*a*) Aphrodite with Eros and an attendant; (*b*) woman and Eros. *PP*, p. 13, fig. 6.

Lepastai

33 (27). **B.M.** F 139. Seated women and Erotes. *PP*, p. 11.

* 34. **Reggio Calabria** S 4799, from Locri (tomb 892). Ht. 12; diam. 15·5. Three women. *NdS* 1913, Supplemento, p. 44; here pl. II*d*.

Oenochoai

35 (28). **Bologna** 437. Seated woman with tambourine. *PP*, p. 13; *CVA*, IV Er (602), pl. 5, 12; van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 356.

36 (29). **Bologna** 491. Silen dancing. *PP*, p. 14; *CVA*, IV Gs (608), pl. 1, 4; van Hoorn, *op. cit.*, no. 357.

II. The Workshop of Asteas and Python (*c.* 360–320)

(i) *Asteas*

Signed Vases

Calyx-kraters

37 (31). **Berlin** F 3044, from St. Agata dei Goti. (*a*) Phlyax scene—robbing the miser; (*b*) Dionysus and a young silen. *PP*, p. 26, pl. V*b*, fig. 11; Bieber, *HT*, p. 266, fig. 361; Wüst, *RE* xx, 297, no. 38.

38 (32). **Rome,** Villa Giulia 50279, from Buccino (fragmentary). (*a*) Parody of the Rape of Cassandra; (*b*) Dionysiac scene, of which only part of an old silen is left. *PP*, p. 28; pl. VI*a*, fig. 13; Bieber, *HT*, p. 268, figs. 366–7; Wüst, *RE* xx, 296, no. 30; Rumpf, *AJA* 1951, p. 10.

39 (33). **Madrid** 11094 (L. 369), from Paestum. (*a*) Madness of Herakles; (*b*) Dionysiac scene. *PP*, p. 31, pls. VI–VII; *CQ* 1948, p. 16.

40 (34). **Naples** 3412 (82411), from Paestum. (*a*) Phrixus and Helle; (*b*) Dionysiac scene. *PP*, p. 34, pl. VI*b*; *Histoire des Religions—*ii. *Grèce et Rome*, p. 270.

Bell-krater

41 (37). **Naples** 3226 (82258), from St. Agata dei Goti. (*a*) Cadmus and the dragon; (*b*) Dionysiac scene. *PP*, p. 23, pl. V*a*, fig. 5.

Squat lekythos

42 (52). **Naples** 2873 (81847), from Paestum. Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides. *PP*, p. 20, pl. IV.

Unsigned Vases

Calyx-kraters

* 43. **Taranto,** from Taranto (found 20 October 1938). Ht. 34·5; diam. 34·5. (*a*) Dionysus with tambourine, old phlyax with basin (?) on his head, dancing woman with tambourine; (*b*) woman with mirror and phiale, bearded silen with wreath at altar. The foot is modern and the vase has been recomposed from fragments with considerable restoration. Pl. V*c*.

* 44. **Sydney** 49.01. Ht. 51; diam. 49. (*a*) Dionysiac scene; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. III.

Bell-kraters

45 (35). **Leningrad** 1777. (*a*) Phlyax scene—Herakles at Delphi; (*b*) woman and youth. Much repainted. *PP*, p. 37, fig. 16; Bieber, *HT*, p. 262, fig. 355; Wüst, *RE* xx, 294, no. 10.

46 (36). **B.M.** F 188. (*a*) Dionysus and an old comic actor with a basket headdress; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 38, pl. X*a*, fig. 15; Bieber, *HT*, p. 294, fig. 399; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 16.

47 (38). **Madrid** 11060 (L. 386). (*a*) Dionysus and a comic actor; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 39, pl. IX*a*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 20.

48 (40). **B.M.** F 152. (*a*) Dionysus and Eros; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 40, pl. X*b*, fig. 20.

49 (41). **Madrid** 11058 (L. 378). (*a*) Dionysus and Eros; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 40.

50 (42). **Vatican** U 25. (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) young silen. *PP*, p. 41, fig. 22.

51 (43). **Madrid** 11054 (L. 375). (*a*) Seated Dionysus with young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 40, fig. 19.

52 (44). **Madrid** 11019 (L. 373). (*a*) Dionysus and a seated young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 40, pl. X*e*, fig. 18.

* 53. **Paestum,** from Paestum (Spinazzo). Ht. 30·5; diam. 30. (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. Marzullo, *Tombe dipinte*, p. 12; Patroni, *VP*, figs. 16–17; here pl. IV*a*.

54 (46). **B.M.** F 153. (*a*) Dionysus and a young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 41, pl. X*d*, fig. 21.

* 55. **Turin** 4703. (*a*) Dionysus and a young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. IV*b*.

56 (45). **Agrigento,** Giudice Coll. 193, from Gela. (*a*) Dionysus and a seated bearded silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 40, pl. X*e*, fig. 17; *AJA* 1944, p. 363.

* 57. **Vienna** 4231. Ht. 37; diam. 33. (*a*) Dionysus and a bearded silen; (*b*) two draped youths. Some repainting on both sides. Pl. VI*a*.

58 (47). **B.M.** F 150. (*a*) Phlyax scene—love-adventure; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 39, pl. IX*d*; Bieber, *HT*, p. 285, fig. 387; Wüst, *RE* xx, 298, no. 39.

59 (48). **Vatican** U 19. (*a*) Phlyax scene—Zeus and Hermes on a love-adventure; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 39, pls. IX*c*, X*f*; Bieber, *HT*, p. 269, fig. 368; Wüst, *RE* xx, 293, no. 1; *CQ* 1948, p. 22; Greifenhagen, *Gr. Vasen auf Bildnissen*,[2] p. 204, n. 1 and p. 226; Beare, *Roman Stage*, pl. facing p. 50.

Rhyton (fragmentary)

* 60. **Syracuse** 29966, from Contrada Buffalaro sull' Epipoli (Syracuse). Ht. 18. Phlyax scene—old man and servant with mirror. Pace, *Atti Acc. Arch. Nap.* n.s. xii (1931–2), p. 333, n. 2, figs. 5–6; *Arte e Civiltà* ii, p. 474, figs. 344–5; Arias, *Dioniso* iv (1935), p. 283, figs. 3–4; here pl. V*a*.

Hydria

61 (49). **Brussels** A 813. The Judgment of Paris. *PP*, p. 42, pl. XI*a*; *CVA*, IV F (90), pl. 1, 7*a–c*; Clairmont, *Parisurteil*, p. 60, no. K 186.

Lebes gamikos

62 (50). **Naples** 2878 (81879), from Paestum. (*a*) Three women at a laver; (*b*) youth and woman. *PP*, p. 42, pl. XI*b*.

Lekane

63 (51). **Louvre** K 570. Apollo and Marsyas with three Muses. *PP*, p. 42, pl. XI*c*, fig. 23.

Oenochoai (shape 2)

64 (53). **Vienna** 413. Maenad and youth with thyrsus. *PP*, p. 42, fig. 24.

65 (103). **Madrid** 11484 (L. 479). Bearded silen pursuing a maenad. *PP*, p. 53.

(ii) *The Asteas Group*

(*a*) The Altavilla Painter

Bell-kraters

* 66. **Madrid** 11037 (L. 383). Ht. 26; diam. 24·5. (*a*) Seated youth and standing woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Early work. Pl. VI*c*.

* 67. **Dublin,** National Museum 510–1880. Ht. 35; diam, 32·5. (*a*) Dionysus and maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. VII*a*.

* 68. **Dublin,** National Museum 505–1880. Ht. 35; diam. 32·5. (*a*) Maenad and young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. VII*b*.

* 68 bis. **Boston** 95.835. Ht. 33; diam. 32·5. (*a*) Dionysus and a half-draped maenad with thyrsus; (*b*) bearded silen with fawnskin, torch and phiale. Some repainting, especially on the reverse. Pl. XVII*a*.

* 69. **Oxford,** Ashmolean Museum 1942.293. Ht. 33·6; diam. 32·2. (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. *AJA* 1944, pp. 357 ff., figs. 2–3; here pl. VIII*a*.

* 70 (123). **Cambridge,** Fitzwilliam Museum 43.7, once Disney pls. 119–20. (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. *AJA* 1944, p. 360, fig. 4; here pl. VIII*b*.

* 70 bis. **Boston** 95.834. Ht. 33; diam. 32·5. (*a*) Dionysus and a young silen; (*b*) bearded silen with skewer of fruit and tambourine leaning against a pillar. Some repainting on reverse. Pl. XVII*b*.

* 71 (57). **Louvre** K 247. (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 46, pl. XII*a*; *AJA* 1944, p. 361; (*b*) here pl. IX*c*.

* 72 (58). **Louvre** K 248. (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 46; *AJA* 1944, pp. 363–4, fig. 6; (*b*) here pl. IX*d*.

73 (59). **Madrid** 11062 (L. 385). (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths (much repainted). *PP*, p. 46, fig. 25.

74 (60). **Madrid** 11069 (L. 374). (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr; (*b*) seated woman with cista. *PP*, p. 46.

75 (61). **Madrid** 11059 (L. 372). (*a*) Woman and young satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 46, fig. 30.

76 (55). **Bologna** 490. (*a*) Dionysus and Pan; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 46, fig. 29; *CVA*, iii, IV Gs (608), pl. 1, 1–3.

[2] Reprinted from *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil. Hist. Kl. III, 7, 1939, pp. 199–230.

* 77 (39). **Oxford** 1928.12, once Hope 275. (*a*) Dionysus and a phlyax as Hermes; (*b*) youth and woman. *PP*, p. 39, pl. IX*b*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 21; (*b*) here pl. IX*a*.

* 78 (132 bis). **Hanover,** Kestner Museum R 1906.160. Ht. 43·5; diam. 42·5. (*a*) Dionysus and a phlyax actor with a bird outside a window in which is a female head; below, a female mask on an altar; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 70; here pl. IX*b*.

Neck-amphorae

* 79. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Altavilla. Ht. 44. (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: (*a*) and (*b*) female heads. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 40–1; here pl. X*a*.

* 80. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Pontecagnano (?). Ht. 42·5. (*a*) Youth with pilos offers wreath to woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: (*a*) female head; (*b*) thrush. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 52–3; here pl. X*b*.

81 (94). **Madrid** 11231 (L. 399). (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. *PP*, p. 51, fig. 31.

82 (95). **Madrid** 11232 (L. 400). (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. *PP*, p. 51, fig. 32.

83 (98). **Madrid** 11235 (L. 396). (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. *PP*, p. 53, pl. XIV*b*.

84 (96). **Naples** 1777 (81740). (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. *PP*, p. 51.

85 (97). **Louvre** K 303, from Taranto. (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. *PP*, p. 51.

86 (99). Once **Berlin,** Dr. Lederer. (*a*) Woman and youth beside column; (*b*) youth and woman. *PP*, p. 51.

86 bis. **New York,** David Rockefeller Coll. Ht. 33. (*a*) Eros with wreath and standing woman with wreath and cista; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. Formerly in the possession of Lord Swansea at Singleton Abbey; *Sale Cat.*, Anderson Galleries, New York, 26–29 January 1921, no. 470, p. 72.

Hydriai

87 (80). **Madrid** 11137. Woman with wreath and mirror between two youths with phialai. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 53.

88 (81). **Madrid** 11138 (L. 422). Eros between two women. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 53.

89 (83). **Paestum** inv. 5421, from Paestum (Spinazzo). Bearded silen with woman at altar. Under the handles: owl, female head. *PP*, p. 54; Marzullo, *Tombe Dipinte*, p. 9, fig. 1; Patroni, *VP*, figs. 1–4.

Lebes gamikos

90 (88). **Madrid** 11441 (L. 437). (*a*) Two women at a laver; (*b*) woman and satyr. *PP*, p. 52, fig. 37.

(*b*) Other Vases of this Workshop closely Related to the Style of Asteas

Bell-kraters

91 (54). **Louvre** K 240. (*a*) Dionysiac scene; (*b*) woman and Eros at stele. Early work. *PP*, p. 32, fig. 14.

92 (63). **Naples** 905 (82620). (*a*) Dionysus and a young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 48, pl. XII*c*.

93 (126). **Berlin** F 3050, from Bari. (*a*) Seated maenad and bearded silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71, fig. 46.

94 (64). **Lecce** 741, from Rugge. (*a*) Eros and a seated figure, with female mask above; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 52.

95 (62). **Madrid** 11067 (L. 376). (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) woman with offerings at altar. *PP*, p. 46.

* 96. **Toulouse,** Musée St. Raymond 26.340. Ht. 29; diam. 28·5. (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) seated woman with mirror and skewer of fruit. Pl. XI*b*.

97. Once **Karlsruhe,** Vogell Collection, 549. (*a*) Dionysus seated; (*b*) Dionysus. *Sale Cat.*, pl. 5, 11; *AJA* 1944, p. 365, fig. 7.

98 (65). **Florence,** Vagnonville 671. (*a*) Dionysus and a young silen; (*b*) youth with offerings at an altar. *PP*, p. 52, pl. XIV*c*.

*99. **Reading,** University 50.5.2. Ht. 33·5; diam. 32. (*a*) Youth and bearded silen with thyrsus and bell; (*b*) two draped youths. Foot mended and repaired: some repainting, especially on the reverse. Pl. VI*b*.

100 (66). **Naples** 1786 (82178). (*a*) Dionysus and a maenad; female bust above; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 54, pl. XIV*d*.

Hydriai

101 (69). **Berlin** F 3033, from Arpi. Hermes and a seated woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49, pl. XII*d*.

102 (70). **Berlin** F 3032, from Nola. Eros and a seated woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 47, fig. 28.

103 (71). **Karlsruhe** 351. Eros and a seated woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49.

104 (72). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 264. Eros and a seated woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49.

105 (73). **B.M.** 67, 5–8, 1318, from Abella. Youth and woman. Under the handles: female head, head of Hermes. *PP*, p. 49.

106 (74). **B.M.** F 360. Youth and woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49.

106 bis. Once **Naples,** Jamineau Coll. Youth and woman. Under the handles: female heads. Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. ined.*, no. 99; Greifenhagen, *Gr. Vasen auf Bildnissen*, p. 225.

107 (75). **Madrid** 11142 (L. 421). Youth and woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49.

108 (76). **Madrid** 11139 (L. 420). Youth and seated woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49.

109 (77). **Munich** 3295. Youth and woman. *PP*, p. 49.

110 (78). **Louvre** K 286. Youth and woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 49.

111 (79). **Louvre** K 287. Woman and satyr. *PP*, p. 49, fig. 27.

112 (82). **Vienna** 581. Hermes between a seated woman and a satyr. Under the handles: female head, head of Hermes. *PP*, p. 53, pl. XIV*a*.

113 (84). **B.M.** F 357, from Abella. Dionysus and a woman. Under the handles: female heads. *PP*, p. 54, fig. 40.

Skyphoi

114 (85). **Madrid** 11388 (L. 493). (*a*) Woman at a laver; (*b*) seated woman with mirror and wreath. *PP*, p. 46.

115 (86). **Madrid** 11395. (*a*) Maenad with thyrsus; (*b*) satyr seated on rock.

*116. **Oxford,** Ashmolean Museum 1945.43. Ht. 14; diam. 14·1. (*a*) Phlyax and tumbler; (*b*) Dionysus and maenad. *Report of the Visitors* 1945, p. 12, pl. II*a*; here pl. V*b*.

Lebetes gamikoi

117 (87). **Madrid** 11445 (L. 433). (*a*) Two women at a laver with Eros; (*b*) woman and satyr. On the lid: (*a*) thrush; (*b*) panther. Below the handles: hoopoe on palmette. *PP*, p. 52, pl. XIII*a*.

118 (89). **Madrid** 11455 (L. 435). (*a*) Woman and Eros; (*b*) youth and woman. On the lid: (*a*) thrush; (*b*) panther. Below the handles: palmettes in applied red. *PP*, p. 52.

*119 (90). Once **New York,** Noorian. Ht. 34. (*a*) Woman kneeling by laver; (*b*) seated figure. On the lid: (*a*) above—owl; below—youth seated by altar; (*b*) above—swan; below—seated youth with skewer of fruit by altar. *PP*, p. 43, n. 80; Parke-Bernet *Sale Cat.* 17–19 December 1942, no. 46, illustrated on p. 6; *AJA* 1944, p. 365; here pl. XI*a*.

119 bis. **Siena,** Marchese Chigi, no. 269. Ht. 38. (*a*) Youth and seated woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Lid: female head. Pellegrini, *Studi e materiali di arch. e num.* vol. 1, p. 319.

120 (91). **Rome,** Villa Giulia 50658. (*a*) Woman and young silen; (*b*) woman seated beside a laver. *PP*, p. 53.

Lekanai

121 (92). **Madrid** 11307 (L. 524). Seated woman: Eros. *PP*, p. 53.

122 (93). **Madrid** 11308 (L. 526). Silen: Eros. *PP*, p. 53.

123. **Reading,** University 22.3.23, from Ruvo. Diam. 18. Seated woman: kneeling Eros. *CVA*, pl. 29, 1.

124 (194). **Paestum** 1247, from Paestum (Spinazzo). Ht. 16; diam. 15. Bearded silen: thrush. *PP*, p. 53, n. 28.

* 125 (195). **Paestum** 1248, from Paestum. Ht. 13; diam. 16. Young silen: thrush. Pl. XI*d*.

126 (193). **Louvre** K 573. Youth: thrush. *PP*, p. 53, n. 28.

127 (192). **Naples** 1853 (82207), from Paestum. Youth: dog. *PP*, p. 53, n. 28.

128 (196). **Madrid** (no. lost). Seated youth: bird.

129 (197). **Leningrad,** Hermitage, inv. 3044. Seated Eros: bird.

130. **Como,** Museo Civico. Diam. 17·4. Seated Eros: siren. Patroni, 'Eros e Sirena' in *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* ser. II, vol. 50, 1917, pp. 137–166, pls. I–III.

Neck-amphorae

131 (100). Once **Treben,** Von Leesen 82. (*a*) Silen and seated figure; (*b*) seated figure. Neck: female heads. *Sale Cat.*, pl. 3, no. 36; *PP*, p. 53.

132 (263). **Paestum** 777, from Paestum (Spinazzo). Neck only remains. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) palmette.

133 (101). **Louvre** K 301. (*a*) Aphrodite and Eros, with female bust above; (*b*) nude youth and draped woman. Neck: (*a*) siren, (*b*) female head. *PP*, p. 51, pl. XIII*b*.

NOTE. The neck-amphora in Nocera, here listed as no. 204, should belong to this group.

Pelikai

134 (105). **Karlsruhe** 375. (*a*) Woman and Eros; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 50.

135 (106). **Naples** 1890 (81721). (*a*) Woman and Eros; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 54.

136 (240). **Madrid** 11205 (L. 489). (*a*) Seated woman with wreath and skewer of fruit; (*b*) nude youth with staff and strigil.

Oenochoe (shape 2)

137 (102). **Copenhagen** 258. Dionysus and Eros playing the double flute. *PP*, p. 46, fig. 26; *CVA*, pl. 244, 1*a–c*.

Oenochoe (shape 10)

138. **Haverford** (Pa.), Haverford College. Dionysus with thyrsus and dish following bearded silen with torch and box.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

* 139 (229). **Paestum** 1273, from Paestum (Spinazzo). Youth offers patera to seated woman. Pl. XI*c*.

140 (67). **Paestum,** from the Sele Heraeum (frag.). Youth bending forward over raised leg.

141. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 16·5. Young silen with thyrsus and skewer of fruit capering between two altars.

142 (231). **Leiden,** Antiquarium GNV 138. Young silen between two altars; van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 618.

143. **Rome,** Museo Luigi Pigorini, Room 35, Case 13, from the Grotta di Pertosa (Salerno). Young silen.

144 (104). **Berlin** F 3058, from Nola. Hermes and a woman who appears only as a bust. *PP*, p. 52, pl. XIII*c*; van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 335.

Squat Lekythos

145. **Haverford** (Pa.), Haverford College. Seated woman with wreath and dish of offerings.

(iii) *Python*

Bell-kraters

146 (107). **B.M.** F 149, from S. Agata. (*a*) Alkmene on the altar appeals to Zeus for help against Amphitryon and Antenor; (*b*) Dionysiac scene. Signed by Python. *PP*, p. 56, pls. XV, XIX*a*; Hinks, *Myth and Allegory*, p. 33, pl. 3*a*; Beazley, *EVP*, p. 105.

147 (108). **B.M.** 1917, 12–10, 1 (once Hope 267). (*a*) Orestes at Delphi; (*b*) Dionysiac scene. *PP*, p. 60, pls. XVII, XIX*b*.

148 (113). **Vatican,** old no. 120. (*a*) Symposium; (*b*) Dionysiac scene. *PP*, p. 62, pls. XVIII, XIX*c*.; Greifenhagen, *Gr. Vasen auf Bildnissen*, pp. 204, 226, pl. II.

149 (114). **Vatican** U 23. (*a*) Hermes; (*b*) maenad. *PP*, p. 72, pl. XXIV*a*; Greifenhagen, *op. cit.* p. 225.

150 (115). **Louvre** K 238. (*a*) Hermes sacrifices a goat; bust of bearded silen above; (*b*) seated woman. *PP*, p. 66, pl. XX*b*; *Histoire des Religions* ii, p. 84.

151 (116). **Sydney** 47.04 (once Hope 272). (*a*) Dionysus and a papposilen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 68, pl. XX*d*; *Nicholson Museum Handbook*[2], p. 335, pl. XI.

152 (129). **Copenhagen,** National Museum 257 B. (*a*) Dionysus and a boy, with female mask above; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71, pls. XXIII*b*, XXVII*d*; *CVA*, pl. 243, 2*a–b*; Webster, *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 32 (1949–50), p. 133, no. 44 (ii).

153 (117). **Dundee,** once Hope 280. (*a*) Dionysus and a papposilen holding up a bird; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 68.

* 154. **Mannheim.** (*a*) Dionysus and a papposilen holding up a bird; (*b*) two draped youths. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, p. 45, fig. 45; here pl. XII*a*.

155 (118). **Naples** 2846 (inv. 81417), from St. Agata. (*a*) Papposilen and sphinx; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 68, pl. XXI*a*.

156 (109). **Los Angeles,** County Museum A 5933.50–46 (formerly Hope 271). (*a*) Silen and centaur; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 66, pl. XX*a*; Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 2 December 1946, no. 63.

* 157 (137). **Sydney** 48.04, (once Hope 278). (*a*) Dionysus and a silen beneath a window; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71; Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 12 April 1948, no. 142; here pl. XII*c*.

158 (110). **Vatican** U 15. (*a*) Silen with thyrsus and situla; (*b*) woman at laver. *PP*, p. 66.

159 (110 bis). **Warsaw,** National Museum (formerly Wilanów, Castle Branicki). (*a*) Silen with thyrsus; (*b*) woman at laver. *CVA*, Poland 3, Wilanów, pl. 3, 9.

160 (112). **Naples** 818 (inv. 82617), from Egnatia. (*a*) Seated Dionysus; (*b*) silen with thyrsus. *PP*, p. 66.

161 (111). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 277. (*a*) Silen and woman at laver; (*b*) two draped youths. The foot is modern. *PP*, p. 71.

162. Once **Naples,** Pacileo. (*a*) Centaur and phlyax; (*b*) two draped youths. *JdI* i, p. 304; PP, p. 67; *AJA* 1944, p. 365; Wüst, *RE* xx, 299, no. 55.

163 (131). **Madrid** 11028 (L. 387). (*a*) Dionysus and phlyax actor with torch; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 70, pls. XXII*b*, XXVII*c*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 20*a*.

164 (120). **Vatican** U 18. (*a*) Dionysus and a phlyax actor playing the flute; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 69, pl. XXII*a*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 15.

165 (121). **Louvre** K 244. (*a*) Phlyax actor with dish of cakes; (*b*) Dionysus at altar. *PP*, 69, pl. XXII*c*.

166. **Ravello,** Tallon-Lacaita Collection. (*a*) Dionysus and a phlyax actor; (*b*) two draped youths. *Dioniso* vii (1939), p. 162; *AA* 1940, pp. 512–3, fig. 40; Olivieri, *Frammenti del Mimo*[2] ii, p. 45; *AJA* 1944, p. 365.

* 167 (132). **Liverpool** M 10711. (*a*) Dionysus and a phlyax actor; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 70, pl. XXIII*a*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 22; (*b*) here pl. XII*b*.

168 (139). **B.M.** F 189, from Capua. (*a*) Phlyax scene—master and slave; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 70, pls. XXII*d*, XXVII*b*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 299, no. 53; *CQ* 1948, p. 24.

* 169. **Sydney** 49.09. Ht. 39; diam. 38. (*a*) Dionysus and a maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. XIII*a*.

170 (136). **Sydney** W 5 (once Hope 270). (*a*) Dionysus and a woman below a window in which is a woman's head; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP* p. 71; *Sydney University Union Recorder*, 25 June 1942, p. 85; *Nicholson Museum Handbook*[2], p. 335, fig. 88.

171 (140). **Los Angeles,** County Museum A 5933.50–36 (once Hope 273). (*a*) Dionysus and a papposilen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 68, pl. XXI*b*; Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 2 December 1946, no. 64.

* 172 (138). **Reading,** University 51.7.11 (once in the Vatican Library, Passeri pls. 123–4). Ht. 40; diam. 39. (*a*) Apollo and a papposilen, with female bust above; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 68; *AJA* 1944, p. 361, fig. 5; here pl. XIII*b*.

173 (130). **Berlin** inv. 4532. (*a*) Odysseus and the sirens; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 74, pls. XXIV*b*, XXVII*e*.

174 (127). **Louvre** K 257. (*a*) Seated Dionysus (with modern beard) (*b*) youth with thyrsus. Extensively repainted. *PP*, p. 71.

175 (128). **Compiègne,** Musée Vivenel 1026. (*a*) Seated Dionysus; (*b*) silen with thyrsus. *PP*, p. 66.

176 (122). **Naples** 1774 (inv. 81659). (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) satyr beside an altar. *PP*, p. 71.

177 (119). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 276. (*a*) Dionysus and a silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 66; Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 14 March 1929, no. 86.

178 (133). **Berlin** F 3049. (*a*) Eros with bird-trap; (*b*) seated woman. *PP*, p. 71, fig. 44.

179 (134). **Naples** 824 (inv. 82618). (*a*) Eros with bird-trap; (*b*) seated Dionysus. *PP*, p. 71, fig. 45.

180 (135). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 279. (*a*) Woman at altar; (*b*) young silen with dog. *PP*, p. 71; Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 14 March 1929, no. 84.

181. **Warsaw,** Majewski Museum, inv. 16283, from Cumae. Ht. 35·8; diam. 35. (*a*) Dionysus and a maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. Bernhard, *Wazy greckie*, p. 46, no. 60, pl. 10; Dohrn, *Gnomon* xiv, p. 592; *AJA* 1944, p. 365.

182 (124). **Dunedin,** Otago Museum E 48.261 (once Hope 274). (*a*) Dionysus and Pan; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71, pls. XXIII*d*, XXVII*a*.

183 (125). **Agrigento,** Giudice Coll. 611. (*a*) Dionysus and Pan; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71, pl. XXIII*c*.

184 (141). **Louvre** K 264. (*a*) Aphrodite and Eros; (*b*) two draped youths. Much repainted and restored. *PP*, p. 71.

185 (142). **Compiègne,** Musée Vivenel 1069. (*a*) Seated Dionysus; (*b*) young silen with amphora. *PP*, p. 71, pl. XXIV*c*.

186. (143). **Louvre** K 242. (*a*) Dionysus and a papposilen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71, pl. XXI*c*.

187 (144). **Louvre** K 243. (*a*) Dionysus and Pan; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 71, fig. 47.

188 (145). **Louvre** K 250. (*a*) Maenad with cista at altar; (*b*) young silen with wine-skin. *PP*, p. 72, pl. XXV*a*.

189 (146). **Trieste,** Museo Civico. (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) seated woman with mirror. *PP*, p. 72, pl. XXV*c*.

Lost Vases (? Bell-kraters)

190 (147). **Tischbein** I 40. Dionysus and a silen. *PP*, p. 66.

191 (148). **Tischbein** I 41. Dionysus and a phlyax actor. *PP*, p. 74; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 18.

192 (149). **Tischbein** I 44. Dionysus with a phlyax actor dressed as Eros. *PP*, p. 70; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 19.

193 (150). **Tischbein** II 52. Symposium. *PP*, p. 64.

Calyx-kraters

194 (151). **Bari** 3581 (fragments), from Taranto. The death of Opheltes. *PP*, p. 62, pl. XVI*a*.

195 (152). **Louvre** N 3157, from St. Agata dei Goti. (*a*) Cadmus and the dragon; (*b*) youth, woman and young satyr. *PP*, p. 64, pls. XVI*c*, XIX*d*.

Fragment

196 (153). **Berlin** F 3297*a*. Head of swan, above which is the inscription ΓΑΝΥΜΗΔΗΣ. *PP*, p. 74.

Hydria

197 (154). **B.M.** F 155. Scene from a tragedy (Agrios and Oineus?). *PP*, p. 58, pl. XVI*b*.

Stemless Cups

198 (155). **Vienna** 206, from Sicily. Bearded silen seated on wine-amphora. *PP*, p. 66, pl. XX*c*, where erroneously listed as 602.

199. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Pontecagnano (?). Diam. 23·5. Bearded silen seated on wine-amphora. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 56–7.

200 (156). **Louvre** K 363. Young silen with wine-skin. *PP*, p. 71, fig. 42.

201 (157). **Louvre** K 364. Dionysus moving to right. *PP*, p. 71, fig. 43.

202 (158). **Madrid** 11285 (L. 506). Seated woman by altar. *PP*, p. 72.

Neck-amphorae

203 (160). **Copenhagen,** National Museum inv. 8377. (*a*) Poseidon and Amphitrite; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: female heads. *PP*, p. 73, pl. XXVI; *CVA*, pl. 244, 2*a–b*.

204. **Nocera dei Pagani,** Coll. Fienga. (*a*) Youth and woman at stele, with busts above; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: (*a*) siren; (*b*) female head.

NOTE. This vase belongs to the Asteas group and should follow no. 133.[3]

Oenochoai (shape 3)

205 (161). **Naples** 1787 (inv. 81684), from Paestum. Dionysus between a maenad and an old silen. *PP*, p. 68, pl. XXI*d*; van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 731.

206 (163). **Boston** 19.295, from Paestum. Dionysus dancing. *PP*, p. 73, pl. XXV*b*; van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 389.

207 (227). **Madrid** 11499 (L. 481). Seated youth with skewer of fruit.

(iv) *Minor Vases from the Workshop of Asteas and Python*

Bell-kraters

208 (165). **Geneva,** Musée d'Art et d'Histoire I 435, from Salerno. (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) woman with fillet. *PP*, p. 50, pl. XII*b*.

209 (56). **Vatican** U 17. (*a*) Dionysus to r.; (*b*) young silen seated on rock. Recomposed from fragments and much repainted.

210 (166). **Naples** 1772 (inv. 82243). (*a*) Silen with patera; (*b*) draped youth.

* 211. **Sydney** 49.10. Ht. 21; diam. 20. (*a*) Eros; (*b*) seated woman. Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 20 December 1948, no. 190; here pl. XIV*a*.

* 212. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano (fragments—the middle section of the vase completely lost). Diam. 25. (*a*) Draped woman moving to l.; (*b*) woman with phiale and spray. Pl. XIV*d*.

213. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 19; diam. 19·5. (*a*) Male head; (*b*) female head.

* 214 (378). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale 1447, from Arenosola. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) nude youth. Late. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 46–7; here pl. XIV*b*.

* 215. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra. Ht. 23; diam. 21·5 (*a*) Seated woman with thyrsus and skewer of fruit; (*b*) running youth. Late. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 31–2; here pl. XIV*c*.

Calyx-krater

216. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 22·5; diam. 21. (*a*) Seated Dionysus; (*b*) seated silen. Recomposed from fragments and surface badly worn.

Hydriai

217 (169). **Naples** 1888 (inv. 81844). Woman at altar.

218 (170). **Berlin** F 4100, from Bitonto. Youth with wreath and stick.

219 (171). **Berlin** F 4129, from Ruvo. Pegasus.

220 (172). **Madrid** 11146 (L. 425). Eros with fillet and wreath.

221 (173). **Louvre** CA 2270. Eros with cista at a stele.

222. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra. Ht. 20. Running woman. Patroni, *VP*, fig. 37.

223 (174). **Madrid** 11147 (L. 427). Running youth with fillet and mirror.

224 (175). **Madrid** 11148 (L. 430). Seated woman with mirror, cista and fillets.

225 (176). **Madrid** 11149 (L. 426). Seated women with cista, wreath and fillet.

226 (177). **Madrid** 11150 (L. 431). Standing woman.

227 (350). **Madrid** 11151 (L. 428). Running youth.

228 (178). **Madrid** 11152 (L. 429). Running youth.

229. **New York,** Nelson A. Rockefeller Coll. 20–13. Running youth.

230. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Pontecagnano (?). Ht. 21·5. Running youth. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 54–5.

231. **Vienna** 932. Ht. 19. Youth with skewer of fruit and drapery over left arm. Repainted.

232. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 19. Woman with mirror and phiale.

233. **Louvre** K 24. Ht. 21·5 Woman and youth with staff.

[3] I owe my knowledge of this vase in the first instance to Sir John Beazley. Unfortunately the Fienga Collection was inaccessible in May 1951, so I have not seen the original. From the description it seemed to be the work of Python, but from photographs kindly given to me later by Dr. Karl Lehmann in New York I now realise that the vase belongs to the Asteas Group (see below, p. 33). However, in order to avoid a last-minute rearrangement of catalogue numbers, I have left it here.

Skyphoi

234 (179). **Louvre** K 350. (*a*) Draped woman; (*b*) nude youth.

235 (385). **Paestum** 1276, from Paestum (Spinazzo). (*a*) Woman with mirror and fillet; (*b*) youth with fillet and spray.

236. **Geneva,** MF 244. (*a*) Woman with mirror and fillet; (*b*) nude youth with fillet and spray.

237 (180). **B.M.** F 253. (*a*) Pan; (*b*) maenad.

Kylix

238 (159). **Madrid** 11278. I. Young silen: seated woman. Restored and repainted. *PP*, p. 72.

Stemless Cups

239 (181). **Naples** 124283, from Paestum. I. Youth with cista, mirror and fillet. A and B. Seated youths. *PP*, p. 50.

240 (182). **Madrid** 11283. I. Standing woman. A. Seated Nike; B. Running woman. *PP*, p. 50.

241 (183). **Madrid** 11282 (L. 508). I. Standing youth. A. Running woman with ball and cista; B. Seated woman with cista and wreath. *PP*, p. 50.

Fish Plates

242 (167). **Naples** 2550 (82095), from Paestum. Two large fish, a cuttle and two shells. *PP*, p. 69, n. 62; Lacroix, *La faune marine*, pl. 38.

243 (168). **Naples** 2553 (82094), from Paestum. A dogfish, a sargus, polyp, prawn and small sea creatures. *PP*, p. 69, n. 62; Lacroix, pl. 31.

Lebetes gamikoi

244 (184). **Madrid** 11449 (L. 441). (*a*) Seated Eros; (*b*) running youth.

245. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 22. (*a*) Eros with wreath and skewer of fruit; youth seated on tendril.

246 (185). **Madrid** 11451 (L. 445). (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) youth with thyrsus. Lid: female heads.

247. **Madrid** 11453 (L. 439). Ht. 27. (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) woman with mirror.

248 (186). **Paestum,** from Paestum (Spinazzo). (*a*) Woman with fruit and wreath; (*b*) silen with thyrsus and patera.

248 bis. **Detroit,** Institute of Arts, 24.156. Ht. 20·5. (*a*) Young silen with thyrsus and skewer of fruit; (*b*) seated woman. The reverse is badly damaged.

249. **Paestum** 1253(?), from Paestum (Spinazzo). Ht. 23. (*a*) Youth with patera seated on tendril; (*b*) the like.

250 (187). **Paestum** 1275, from Paestum (Spinazzo). (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) seated youth.

251 (188). **Paestum,** from Paestum (Spinazzo). (*a*) Draped woman; (*b*) youth with thyrsus and spray, l. foot raised on rock-pile.

251 bis. **Berkeley,** University of California, 1233. Ht. 20·5. (*a*) Half-draped seated woman with mirror and skewer of fruit; (*b*) youth with thyrsus, l. foot raised. This vase was first assigned to this group by Miss Victoria Johnson.

252 (189). **Madrid** 11447 (L. 444). (*a*) Standing woman; (*b*) seated woman.

253. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Altavilla. Ht. 22·5. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) nude youth with cista. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 42–3.

254 (190). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale 1450, from Arenosola. (*a*) Woman with fillet and skewer of fruit moving to right; (*b*) nude youth with l. foot raised on tendril. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 48–9.

255 (191). **Copenhagen,** Ny Carlsberg, Etr. Mus. H 53 (once von Leesen, *Sale Cat.* pl. 4, no. 136). (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) youth.

255 bis. **Boston** 19.299. Ht. 20; diam. 12·5. (*a*) Seated draped woman; (*b*) youth seated on tendril with mirror and skewer of fruit.

256. **Paris,** Cabinet des Médailles 962. Ht. 20·5. (*a*) Woman; (*b*) sphinx.

257 (359). **Madrid** 11462 (L. 440). (*a*) Eros; (*b*) seated woman with bird. Late.

258 (360). **Madrid.** (*a*) Youth seated on rock; (*b*) seated woman. Late.

259 (361). **Madrid** 11444 (L. 436). (*a*) Youth offers gifts to seated woman; (*b*) seated woman. Late; moving towards the style of Naples 2585.

260. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Pontecagnano (?). Ht. 18·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads. Patroni, *VP*, fig. 68.

261. **Geneva** I 93. Ht. 17·3. (*a*) Female head; (*b*) male head.

262. **Cambridge** (Mass.), Harvard University, Peabody Museum 16.438. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

263. **Cracow,** Czartoryski Museum 1461. Ht. 15·5. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads. *CVA*, pl. 19, 1.

Lekanai

264. **Madrid** 11335 (L. 522). Diam. 13. Lid only preserved. Silen crawling to altar: thrush.

265. **Geneva** I 462, from Salerno. Diam. 11·7. Seated figure: thrush. Surface very badly worn.

266 (198). **Madrid** 11325 (L. 529). Female head: bird. *PP*, p. 53, n. 28.

267. **Madrid** (no. lost). Diam. 12. Female head; male head.

268. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano tomb 5, no. 14. Diam. 13. Female head: swan.

269. **Paestum** 1254, from Paestum (Spinazzo). Diam. 9·5. Female heads. Late.

Squat Lekythoi

270 (199). **Vatican** U 22 (formerly X 39). Standing woman between two altars. *PP*, p. 50, fig. 36.

271 (200). **Madrid** 11519 (L. 458). Running woman.

272 (201). **Madrid** 11523 (L. 452). Standing youth with thyrsus between two altars.

273 (202). **Moscow,** Museum of Fine Arts 185. Youth by altar. Surface badly damaged.

274. **Paestum,** from Paestum (Spinazzo). Ht. 22. Woman with wreath and phiale between two altars. Marzullo, *Tombe Dipinte*, p. 14, no. 2; Patroni, *VP*, figs. 18–19.

275 (203). **Madrid** 11524 (L. 456). Woman between two altars. *PP*, p. 50.

276 (204). **Madrid** 11529 (L. 454). Woman with wreath and cista; duck to right.

277 (205). **Madrid** 11526 (L. 457). Eros beside an altar.

278 (206). **Madrid** 11539 (L. 453). Standing woman at altar.

279 (207). **Madrid** 11583. Seated woman.

280. **Dunedin,** Otago Museum E 23.8. Ht. 17. Seated figure beside altar.

281 (208). Once **Berlin,** Schiller Coll. 414. Seated youth.

282 (364). **Vatican** U 20. Woman with mirror and cista seated by altar. Late.

283 (209). **B.M.** F 243, from Abella. Thrush.

284 (394). **Madrid** 11541. Female head.

285. **Madrid** 11584. Ht. 11. Female head.

286–9. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano, tomb 5 group C. Ht. 11·2. Female head, with a phiale above to r. and l. These four lekythoi are almost identical.

290–93. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano, tomb 5. Ht. 9·4. Female head with palmette leaves to r. and l. These four lekythoi are almost identical.

Neck-amphorae

294 (210). **B.M.** 67.5–8.1275. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) youth bending forward over raised foot. *PP*, p. 50, fig. 33.

295 (211). **B.M.** 67.5–8.1276. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) standing nude youth with wreath. *PP*, p. 50, fig. 34.

296. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Altavilla. Ht. 23. (*a*) Nude youth bending forward over raised foot; (*b*) standing nude youth with skewer of fruit. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 38–9.

297 (212). **Madrid** 11240 (L. 403). (*a*) Seated woman with mirror and cista, duck to l.; (*b*) youth with cista and thyrsus moving to r.

298 (213). **Madrid** 11242. (*a*) Woman; (*b*) satyr leaning forward over raised l. foot. The vase has a modern foot.

299 (214). **Madrid** 11245. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) nude youth.

300 (215). **Madrid** 11246. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) running youth.

301 (216). **Madrid** 11243 (L. 414). (*a*) Eros; (*b*) woman.

302. **Manchester,** Museum IV E 5. Ht. 24. (*a*) Standing woman with fillet and skewer of fruit; (*b*) woman with fillet.

303 (217). **Naples** 2245 (inv. 81783), from Paestum. (*a*) Standing draped woman; (*b*) youth with fillet. *PP*, p. 50.

304 (218). **Naples** 2233 (inv. 81787), from Paestum. (*a*) Eros; (*b*) draped youth with patera.

305 (219). **Naples** 128035, from Cumae. (*a*) Youth with thyrsus; (*b*) nude woman with mirror standing beside a stele.

306 (220). **Berlin** F 3026, from Calvi. (*a*) Dionysus with thyrsus and fruit; (*b*) satyr bending forward over raised foot.

307 (221). Once **Treben,** von Leesen 40 (*Sale Cat.*, pl. 4, no. 135). (*a*) Draped woman; (*b*) nude youth with strigil.

308 (222). **Paestum** 1274, from Paestum (Spinazzo). (*a*) Draped woman; (*b*) youth with wreath and staff.

309. **Paestum,** from Paestum. Ht. 24·5. (*a*) Draped woman with mirror and phiale at altar; (*b*) youth with wreath.

310 (223). **Madrid** 11241 (L. 404). (*a*) Youth; (*b*) running woman.

311 (224). **Madrid** 11259. (*a*) Youth; (*b*) woman with cista and mirror.

312 (225). **Boston** 12.423. (*a*) Running woman; (*b*) Eros. *PP*, p. 50, fig. 35.

313 (226). **Vienna** 1133. (*a*) Woman with cista and mirror; (*b*) youth with wreath and patera.

314 (399). **Naples** 81788, from Paestum. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

315 (401). **Naples** 82759, from Paestum. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

316 (402). **Naples** VI 1401, from Paestum. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

317 (228). **Bologna** 436. Youth by altar. *CVA*, IV Er (602), pl. 5, 11.

318. **Stockport,** Municipal Museum 29. Youth at altar.

319 (230). **B.M.** F 371. Woman and capering satyr. Van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 658.

320 (232). **Jena** 431. Seated woman beside altar.

321 (162). **Madrid** 11496 (L. 475). Standing woman.

Oenochoai (shape 6)

322 (233). **Madrid** 11489. Young silen kneeling.

323 (234). **Madrid** 11491 (L. 488). Young silen capering between altars.

324 (235). **Berlin** F 3069, from Bari. Youth with two wreaths seated beside an altar.

Epichyseis

325 (236). **B.M.** F 393. Silen. *PP*, p. 53, n. 28.

326 (237). **Louvre** ED 861. Seated woman.

327 (238). **Madrid** 11488 (L. 349). Eros and a seated woman.

Pelikai

328 (239). **Naples,** Stg. 432, from Fasano. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) standing woman with wreaths and fillet.

329 (164). **Madrid** 11206. (*a*) Young satyr with thyrsus and skewer of fruit; (*b*) seated woman.

III. The Transition Period (*c.* 330–310)

(i) *The Boston Orestes Painter*

Bell-kraters

330 (241). **B.M.** F 154, from St. Agata dei Goti. (*a*) Boar-hunt; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 76, pl. XXVIII*a*.

* 331 (242). **Sydney** 48.05 (once Hope 268). (*a*) Two maenads and a young silen; (*b*) two draped youths. Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 12 April 1948, no. 140; *PP*, p. 81, fig. 51; (*b*) here pl. XV*c*.

332 (243). **Louvre** K 258. (*a*) Youth with thyrsus; (*b*) draped youth beside an altar. *PP*, p. 81.

* 333. **Turin** 4696. Ht. 26; diam. 25. (*a*) Woman; (*b*) youth. Pl. XV*a*.

334 (244). **Brussels** R 261. (*a*) Young silen and maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 81, pl. XXX*a*; *CVA*, ii, IV F (90), pl. 1, 8*a* and *b*.

335 (245). **Vatican** U 24. (*a*) Young silen and maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. The foot is modern. *PP*, p. 81.

* 336 (246). **Sydney** 48.06 (once Hope 269). (*a*) Young silen and maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 81; Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 12 April 1948, no. 141; here pl. XV*d*.

337 (247). **Naples** 1793 (inv. 81930). (*a*) Youth and maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 81, pl. XXX*c*.

338 (248). **Vienna** 622. (*a*) Silen offers gifts to maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 81, pl. XXX*d*.

339 (249). **Brussels** R 277. (*a*) Dionysus preceded by an old silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 81, pl. XXX*b*; *CVA*, ii, IV F (90), pl. 1, 10*a* and *b*.

340 (250). **Vienna** 964. (*a*) Maenad and seated old silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 81, pl. XXXII*a*.

* 341. **Turin** 4700. (*a*) Maenad and silen; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. XV*b*.

342 (251). **Leningrad,** Hermitage 1087. (*a*) Dionysus with two maenads and a young silen; (*b*) three draped youths. *PP*, p. 81.

342 bis. **San Francisco,** M. H. de Young Museum 225.24865. Ht. 40·5; diam. 44. (*a*) Three silens and two maenads; (*b*) three draped youths. Much repainted.[4]

Hydriai

343 (252). **Port Sunlight,** Leverhulme Collection X 2126 (once Hope 265), on loan to the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston. Woman and youth beside stele. *PP*, p. 77.

344 (253). **Vienna** 2949. Shoulder: lion and panther devouring a stag; Body: Achilles and Troilus. *PP*, p. 80, pl. XXXI*a*.

345 (254). **Vienna** 527. Satyr and maenad at an altar. *PP*, p. 80, n. 21.

Lebes Gamikos

346 (255). **Naples** 828 (81889). (*a*) Girl with cista; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 79, n. 13.

Squat Lekythoi

347 (256). **Louvre** N 3148. The Judgment of Paris. *PP*, p. 81, pl. XXXII*c*; Clairmont, *Parisurteil*, p. 60, no. K 187.

348. **Oxford,** Ashmolean Museum 1945.68. Ht. 25. Eros with mirror and basket of offerings. Sotheby's *Sale Cat.* 23 July 1945, no. 132.

Kylix (with stem)

349. **Paris** market—September 1951 (Galérie Segredakis 743). I. Woman riding on panther; (*a*) and (*b*) r.f. ivy.

Neck-amphorae

350 (257). **Berlin** F 3025, from Cumae. (*a*) Neck: siren; Body: theft of the Palladion (?); (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 78, pl. XXVIII*c*.

351 (258). **Boston** 99.540, from Nola. (*a*) Neck: siren; Body: Orestes, Pylades and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon; (*b*) Neck: draped youth; Body: youth and woman, with busts above. *PP*, p. 79, pl. XXIX.

352 (259). **Louvre** K 308. (*a*) Woman in black peplos; (*b*) nude youth with thyrsus. (*a*) much repainted. *PP*, p. 78.

353 (260). **Vienna** 478. (*a*) Woman in black peplos; (*b*) nude youth with fruit and wreath. *PP*, p. 78.

354 (261). **Vienna** 724. (*a*) Neck: seated woman with tambourine. Body: Rape of Cassandra; (*b*) Neck: female head. Body: two draped youths. Obverse extensively repainted. The inscriptions are modern. *PP*, p. 83, fig. 48.

355 (262). **Tischbein** I 26, from Nola. (*a*) Neck: Siren. Body: Rape of Thalia; (*b*) Neck: female head. Body: lost. *PP*, p. 84, fig. 49.

Oenochoai (shape 2)

356 (264). **Louvre** K 718. Woman offering libation to warrior with horse. *PP*, p. 82, pl. XXXI*b*.

357 (265). **Naples** 946 (inv. 82652). Youth between two maenads. *PP*, p, 81, pl. XXXII*b*.

358 (266). **Louvre** K 325. Silen approaching a maenad sleeping on a rock. Almost entirely repainted. *PP*, p. 81.

Oenochoe (shape 6)

359 (267). **Vienna** 287. Woman seated beside an altar. *PP*, p. 80, n. 21.

[4] I owe my knowledge of this vase in the first instance to the kindness of Professor H. R. W. Smith.

Skyphos

360. **Turin** 4729. Ht. 15·5; diam. 16. (*a*) Youth with thyrsus and skewer of fruit; (*b*) seated youth with thyrsus.

Pelike

361 (268). **Louvre** K 315. (*a*) Woman with mirror; (*b*) youth seated on rock. *PP*, p. 80, n. 21.

(ii) *The Caivano Group*

(*a*) The Caivano Painter

Bell-kraters

362 (269). **Schwerin,** Schlossmuseum, from Baiae. (*a*) Scene from a tragedy; (*b*) Dionysus and a young silen. *PP*, p. 84, fig. 52.

* 363. **Naples** 147950, from Frignano. (*a*) Birth of Helen; (*b*) two draped youths. *NdS* 1937, 108, fig. 4; *JHS* 1943, p. 80; Beazley, *EVP*, p. 41; (*a*) here pl. XVI*b*.

364 (270). **Capua,** old inv. 11, from Capua. (*a*) Woman with cista; (*b*) young silen with thyrsus. *PP*, p. 85.

Calyx-kraters

365 (271). **Port Sunlight,** Leverhulme Coll. X 2149, from Capua (once Hope 297). (*a*) Herakles fighting an Amazon; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 85.

366 (272). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 298, from Capua. (*a*) Warrior fighting centaur; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 85.

Hydriai

367 (273). **Capua,** from Capua. Bellerophon and Proetus. *PP*, p. 85, fig. 54.

368 (274). **Naples,** from Caivano. Neoptolemus and Polyxena. *PP*, p. 87, pl. XXXIII*a*.

Skyphos

369 (275). **Copenhagen,** National Museum 3468, from Bacoli. (*a*) Woman with cista; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 85; *CVA*, p. 244, 3*a–b*.

Squat Lekythos

370 (277). **Berlin** inv. 4284, from Calvi. Tomb scene. *PP*, p. 88, pl. XXXIII*b*.

Neck-amphorae

371 (280). **Capua,** from Capua. (*a*) Warrior and centaur; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 85, pl. XXXIII*c*.

372 (281). **Capua** 7559, from Capua. (*a*) Youth standing in front of a seated man and a standing woman; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 89.

373 (282). **Naples,** from Caivano. (*a*) Woman offers libation to warrior with standard; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 85, pl. XXXIII*d*.

374 (283). **Naples** 147948, from Frignano. (*a*) Eos driving a chariot above the sea; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 85; *NdS* 1937, 107, fig. 3.

Bail-amphorae

375 (284). **Naples,** from Caivano. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 86.

376 (285). **Naples,** from Caivano. (*a*) Warrior with spear and pilos; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 86.

377 (286). **Madrid** 11476 (L. 417). (*a*) Warrior with spear; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 86.

378 (287). **Naples** 128014, from Cumae. (*a*) Maenad; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 86.

379 (289). **Moscow** 2973. (*a*) Maenad; (*b*) young silen. *PP*, p. 86.

Fragments

380 (290). **Dresden,** Albertinum ZV 2891, from Paestum. Tereus (?). *PP*, p. 88, fig. 53.

381 (291). **Tübingen** 1348 (from a neck amphora). (*a*) Two sirens; (*b*) woman beside an altar. *PP*, p. 85.

Lost Vase

382 (292). **Tischbein** IV 6. Punishment of Marsyas. *PP*, p. 89.

(*b*) Minor Vases in the Manner of or by the Caivano Painter, Leading up to the Style of Naples 1778

Bell-kraters

383. **Brunswick** AT 688. Ht. 19·5. (*a*) Eros seated on rock-pile; (*b*) panther. *CVA*, pl. 43, 1 and 4.

384. Once **Treben,** von Leesen. *Sale Cat.* pl. 4, no. 48. Ht. 17·5. (*a*) Woman seated on rock-pile; (*b*) panther. *JHS* 1943, p. 81, fig. 8.

Lebetes gamikoi

385. **B.M.** F 89. Ht. 21. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror and phiale; (*b*) Eros.

386. **B.M.** old Cat. 1300. Ht. 21. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror and phiale; (*b*) Eros seated on rock-pile.

387. **Louvre** K 392. (*a*) Woman with wreath and phiale; (*b*) nude youth.

388. **Louvre** K 393. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) draped youth.

Squat Lekythoi

389 (279). **Madrid** 11532 (L. 459). Woman standing beside an altar. *PP*, p. 85.

390 (278). **Naples,** from Caivano. Seated woman. *PP*, p. 85.

391. **Naples** 147980, from Caivano. Seated woman. *NdS* 1937, 119, iv; *JHS* 1943, p. 81.

392 (313). **Madrid** 11517 (L. 447). Eros between a seated woman and a seated silen. *PP*, p. 94.

Skyphoi

393. **Madrid** 11402 (L. 345). Ht. 12. (*a*) Woman with bird; (*b*) nude youth.

394. **Capua,** from Capua. (*a*) Satyr; (*b*) youth. *CVA*, IV E, pl. 43, 8 and 42, 8; *JHS* 1943, p. 80.

395. **Naples** 762 (inv. 82787). Ht. 15. (*a*) Seated woman with mirror; (*b*) draped youth.

Neck-amphorae

396. **Madrid** 11253 (L. 406). Ht. 16. (*a*) Draped woman with mirror; (*b*) satyr with thyrsus and phiale.

397. **Madrid** 11255 (L. 407). Ht. 25. (*a*) Running woman; (*b*) satyr seated on rock-pile.

398 (325). **Madrid** 11256 (L. 408). (*a*) Seated woman with phiale; (*b*) nude youth.

* 399. **Geneva,** I 13. Ht. 28·7. (*a*) Draped woman with thyrsus and wreath; (*b*) young satyr with foot raised on rock. Pl. XVI*a*.

Bail-amphora

400. Once **Frignano Piccolo,** Maglione; from Frignano. (*a*) Satyr; (*b*) youth. *NdS* 1937, 110 and 105, xiii; *JHS* 1943, p. 80.

Pelike

401. **Geneva,** I 733. Ht. 17·3 (including modern mouth). (*a*) Seated Eros; (*a*) seated woman with phiale.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

402. **Madrid** 11500 (L. 482). Ht. 16. Woman with mirror seated on rock-pile.

403 (334). **Madrid** 11495 (L. 477). Young silen holds out dish with bird to seated Dionysus. *PP*, p. 94.

Stemless Cups

404 (301). **Naples,** from Caivano. I. Seated Eros. *PP*, p. 96, fig. 55.

405 (276). **Capua,** from Capua. I. Youth; A. Running woman; B. Seated youth. *PP*, p. 85.

IV. The Period of Decadence (*c.* 320–290)

(i) *The Painter of Naples* 1778

Alabastron

406 (293). **Madrid** 11568. Woman and Eros. *PP*, p. 95.

Bell-kraters

407 (294). **Moscow** 735. (*a*) Woman between two comic actors dressed as warriors; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 92, fig. 57; Wüst, *RE* xx, 296, no. 28.

408 (295). **Naples** 1778 (inv. 82127), from Paestum. (*a*) Comic actor between Dionysus and a woman; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 92, pl. XXXV*a*; Wüst, *RE* xx, 295, no. 14.

409 (296). Once **Deepdene,** Hope 281. (*a*) Dionysus and a silen; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 94.

* 410. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra. Ht. 24; diam. 24. (*a*) Seated woman with phiale; (*b*) nude woman seated on tendril. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 33–4; here pl. XVI*c*.

411. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra—tomb xvii. Ht. 25·5; diam. 24·5. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) seated youth with wreath and phiale.

412 (379). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale 1451, from Arenosola. (*a*) Seated nude youth; (*b*) seated woman.

Hydria

413 (297). **Madrid** 11136 (L. 423). Dionysus and youth with drinking horn and thyrsus. PP, p. 94, fig. 61.

Stemless Cups

414 (298). **Naples** 2583 (inv. 82033), from Paestum. I. Youth brings gifts to seated woman; between them on a smaller scale a woman in white. *PP*, p. 96.

415 (299). **Naples** 2589 (inv. 82092), from Paestum. I. Youth and seated woman. *PP*, p. 96.

416 (300). **Madrid** 11286 (L. 513). Seated Dionysus. *PP*, p. 96, fig. 58.

417 (302). **Naples** 2592 (inv. 82530), from Paestum. Woman with wreath and phiale seated on tendril. *PP*, p. 96.

418 (303). **Vienna** 103. Two youths and a woman. *PP*, p. 96, pl. XXXIV*e*.

419 (304). **Naples** 3468 (inv. 82088). Youth and woman. *PP*, p. 96.

420 (305). **Madrid** 11293 (L. 510). Youth and woman. *PP*, p. 96.

421 (306). **Geneva,** I 697. Youth and woman. *PP*, p. 96, fig. 59.

422. **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra. Diam. 17. Seated woman. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 35–6.

Lebetes gamikoi

423 (307). **Naples** 124288, from Paestum. (*a*) Youth offers gifts to seated woman; (*b*) seated woman. *PP*, p. 93, n. 3.

424 (308). **Madrid** 11456 (L. 442). (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) seated youth. *PP*, p. 93, n. 3.

425 (386). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra—tomb xviii. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) nude youth with one foot raised. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 22–3.

Lekanai

426 (309). **Naples** (lid only). Woman, youths and Erotes. *PP*, p. 93, n. 3.

427 (310). **Madrid** 11315 (L. 520). Eros: swan. *PP*, p. 95.

428 (311). **Madrid** 11314 (L. 527). Eros: swan. *PP*, p. 95.

429 (312). **Madrid** 11327 (L. 528). Eros: woman. *PP*, p. 95.

Squat Lekythoi

430 (314). **Madrid** 11521 (L. 449). Seated woman with offerings. *PP*, p. 94.

431 (315). **Berlin** F 3213, from Anzi. Draped woman moving to right. *PP*, p. 93, n. 3.

432 (316). **Naples** 1784 (inv. 82315), from Paestum. Two youths between two seated women. *PP*, p. 94.

433 (317). **Naples** 1788 (inv. 82316), from Paestum. Dionysus between a maenad and a youth. *PP*, p. 94, pl. XXXIV*a*.

434 (318). **Naples** 3426 (inv. 82317), from Paestum. Two youths offering bead wreaths to a woman. *PP*, p. 94.

435 (319). **Naples** 2389 (inv. 82158), from Paestum. Eros with a large fillet; beside him, a duck. *PP*, p. 94. Very near in style to the Asteas Group.

436 (320). **Berlin** F 3081. Seated woman holding out patera to Eros. *PP*, p. 94.

Neck-amphorae

437 (327). **Naples** 1779 (inv. 81733), from Paestum. (*a*) Neoptolemus and Polyxena; (*b*) two draped youths. *PP*, p. 94, pl. XXXIV*d*.

438. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano. Ht. 56·5. (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: (*a*) female head; (*b*) palmette. Recomposed from fragments; surface badly worn.

439 (323). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Arenosola—tomb iv. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) seated nude youth. *PP*, p. 93, fig. 60; Patroni, *VP*, figs. 44–5.

440. **Paestum,** from Paestum (excavations of 1950). Ht. 29. (*a*) Seated woman with wreath; (*b*) youth with wreath and white fillet. *NdS* 1951, p. 147, fig. 14*a*.

441 (324). **Madrid** 11238 (L. 410). (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) nude youth with wreath. *PP*, p. 93.

442 (326). **B.M.** old Cat. 1579. (*a*) Dionysus; (*b*) seated woman. *PP*, p. 93.

443 (328). **Madrid** 11230 (L. 397). (*a*) Standing youth; (*b*) woman running to right with mirror and situla.

444 (398). **Madrid** 11261. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

445 (329). **Naples,** from Paestum. Youth moving to right. *PP*, p. 93, n. 3.

446 (330). **Naples** 1785 (inv. 81677), from Paestum. Maenad playing the flute between Dionysus and a young silen. *PP*, p. 93, pl. XXXIV*b*; van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 730.

447 (331). **Naples** 1792 (inv. 81676), from Paestum. Dionysus offers wreath to seated woman. *PP*, p. 93, pl. XXXIV*c*; van Hoorn, no. 732.

448 (332). **Naples** 1794 (inv. 81681), from Paestum. Maenad and young silen with cottabos stand and torch. *PP*, p. 94.

449 (333). **Madrid** 11493 (L. 476). Youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 94.

450 (335). **Naples** 128018, from Paestum. Satyr seated between two altars. *PP*, p. 94.

451 (336). **Madrid** 11497 (L. 480). Seated woman. *PP*, p. 94.

452 (337). **Madrid** 11498 (L. 483). Seated woman. *PP*, p. 94.

453. **Geneva,** I 718. Ht. 22·5 (upper part of vase modern). Running woman with fillet and wreath.

Epichysis

454. **Princeton,** University Art Museum 37.255. Ht. 17·5; diam. 13·5. Seated woman with phiale.

Plate

455 (338). **Naples** 2681 (inv. 82059), from Paestum. Three panthers.

(ii) *The Painter of Naples 2585*

Bell-kraters

456 (339). **Vatican** U 16. (*a*) Nude youth beside altar; (*b*) draped woman to right. *PP*, p. 100.

457. **Genova-Pegli** 1225. Ht. 32; diam. 27. (*a*) Youth at altar; (*b*) woman. *CVA*, IV Gs (928), pl. 1, 1–3.

458 (340). **Naples** 1876 (inv. 82614), from Abella. (*a*) Youth with fillet and spray; (*b*) draped woman. *PP*, p. 100.

459 (341). **Naples** 1773 (inv. 82601). (*a*) Youth brings gifts to woman seated on altar; (*b*) seated woman with tambourine. *PP*, p. 99, pl. XXXV*c*.

460 (342). **Naples** 1942 (inv. 82571). (*a*) Youth with fillet and tambourine; (*b*) seated woman with mirror. *PP*, p. 100.

461 (343). **Naples** 1791 (inv. 82916). (*a*) Youth with fillet and thyrsus; (*b*) seated woman with wreaths. Foot modern. *PP*, p. 100.

462 (344). **Berlin** F 3052. (*a*) Effeminate youth; (*b*) woman. *PP*, p. 100.

463 (345). **Louvre** K 265 bis. (*a*) Seated youth; (*b*) seated woman, both with tambourines. *PP*, p. 100.

464. (346). **Louvre** K 254. (*a*) Woman; (*b*) youth, both with tambourines. *PP*, p. 100, pl. XXXVI*a*.

465 (347). **Berlin** F 3053, from Anzi. (*a*) Seated effeminate youth; (*b*) woman seated on altar.

466. **Louvre** K 267. Ht. 32; diam. 36. (*a*) Woman with mirror seated on altar; (*b*) standing woman with wreath.

467 (348). **Vienna** 609. (*a*) Dionysus riding on a panther; (*b*) warrior holding helmet and leaning on Ionic column. *PP*, p. 100, fig. 65.

468 (349). **Louvre** K 265. (*a*) Effeminate youth leaning on stele; (*b*) woman with fillet and spray. Heavily repainted. *PP*, p. 100, fig. 63.

Hydriai

469. Once **Naples,** A. F. Gori. Passeri, pl. 57. Youth offers gifts to seated woman. *AJA* 1944, p. 366, fig. 8.

470 (351). **Madrid** 11145. Youth by altar.

471 (352). **Madrid** 11222. Youth by altar.

Skyphos

472 (353). **Madrid** 11391 (L. 492). (*a*) and (*b*) Seated woman.

Stemless Cups

473 (354). **Naples** 2585 (inv. 82084). Youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 99, pl. XXXV*d*.

474 (355). **Madrid** 11279 (L. 505). Youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 99.

475 (356). **Madrid** 11280 (L. 509). Youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 99.

476 (357). **Madrid** 11294 (L. 512). Seated woman between altar and tambourine. *PP*, p. 100.

477. **Salerno,** Soprintendenza, from Pontecagnano (fragmentary). Youth offers gifts to seated woman.

Lebetes gamikoi

478 (358). **Madrid** 11454 (L. 446). (*a*) Youth seated on rock; (*b*) running youth. *PP*, p. 98.

479 (362). **Madrid** 11442 (L. 434). (*a*) Two women at a laver; (*b*) youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 99.

Squat Lekythoi

480 (363). **Madrid** 11534 (L. 455). Youth by altar. *PP*, p. 98.

481 (365). **Louvre** K 367. Youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 99.

482 (366). **Madrid** 11515 (L. 450). Youth brings gifts to seated woman. *PP*, p. 99.

483 (367). **Leningrad,** Hermitage, inv. 2916. Youth brings gifts to seated woman.

484. **Madrid** 11518 (L. 451). Ht. 34. Woman and effeminate youth beside Ionic column.

Neck-amphorae

485 (368). **B.M.** old Cat. 1580. (*a*) Nude youth beside altar; (*b*) woman. *PP*, p. 98, pl. XXXV*b*.

486 (369). **Madrid** 11237 (L. 405). (*a*) Youth; (*b*) woman. *PP*, p. 98.

487 (370). **Madrid** 11226 (L. 394). (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) running woman with patera and fillet. *PP*, p. 100.

488 (371). **Louvre** K 302. (*a*) Seated woman with nude effeminate youth; (*b*) youth with foot on rock-pile. Some repainting, especially on obverse. *PP*, p. 100, pl. XXXVI*d*.

489 (372). **Ruvo,** Jatta Coll. 1694, from the Basilicata. (*a*) Youth and standing woman with bird; (*b*) two draped youths. Neck: (*a*) female head; (*b*) palmette. *PP*, p. 100.

490. **Madrid** 11228 (L. 401). Ht. 52. (*a*) Woman seated on altar; (*b*) draped woman.

491 (373). **Madrid** 11236 (L. 395). (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) youth. *PP*, p. 100.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

492 (374). **Madrid** 11494 (L. 478). Youth brings gifts to woman seated on altar. *PP*, p. 99.

493. **Paris,** Cabinet des Médailles 992. Ht. 34. Youth pursuing woman with tambourine.

494 (375). **Vienna** 348, from Bari. Woman between effeminate youth and Eros, who is standing beside a laver. *PP*, p. 99, pl. XXXVI*c*.

495 (376). **Vienna** 418. Maenad and panther. *PP*, p. 100, fig. 64.

Bottle

496. **Dublin,** University College. Youth beside laver, draped woman, and Eros seated on Ionic column. Much repainted; the top is modern.

Pelike

497 (377). **Naples** 85990, from Cumae. (*a*) Draped woman with spray and mirror; (*b*) youth moving to right. *PP*, p. 98.

(iii) *Minor and Unattributed Late Vases*

Volute-krater

498 (380). **Naples** 3248 (inv. 82126), from Paestum. (*a*) Jason and the golden fleece; (*b*) Eros, woman and youth with busts above. Neck: (*a*) young silen pursuing maenad; (*b*) young silen offers bead chain to maenad. *PP*, p. 96, fig. 62.

Bell-krater

* 499. **Philadelphia,** Pennsylvania University Museum, L 29.46. Ht. 38·2; diam. 32·5. (*a*) Flying Eros with wreath and fan: large bird below; (*b*) woman with ball and dish of cakes moving left and looking back to right. Pl. XVI*d*.

Gutti

500 (381). **Naples** 81914. Seated women. *PP*, p. 95.
501 (382). **Madrid** 11607 (L. 350). Reclining youths.

Hydriai

502 (383). **Madrid** 11155. Female head.
503. **Naples** Stg. 682. Female head.
504 (384). **Paestum,** from Paestum (Spinazzo—tomb vii). Ht. 23·5. Seated woman.

Skyphos

505. **Paestum,** from Paestum (Spinazzo). Ht. 12·5. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) youth with foot raised.

Lebetes gamikoi

506 (387). **Paestum** 1252, from Paestum (Spinazzo). Ht. 27·5. (*a*) Woman seated on tendril; (*b*) seated nude youth with wreath and spray. Lid: swans in applied white, with touches of red and yellow. *PP*, p. 95.
507 (388). **Naples** 816 (inv. 81896), from Paestum. (*a*) and (*b*) Female heads.

Lekane

508 (389). **Madrid** 11313. Female head: bird.

Squat Lekythoi

509 (390). **Naples** 3427 (inv. 82832). Running woman.
510 (321). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale 1448, from Arenosola. Running woman. *PP*, p. 94; Patroni, *VP*, figs. 50–1.
511 (322). **Madrid** 11535 (L. 463). Running woman. *PP*, p. 94.
512 (391). **Louvre** K 368. Youth and woman by altar. *PP*, p. 95.
513 (392). **Naples** 82173, from Paestum. Female head.
514 (393). **Naples** 734 (inv. 82837), from Paestum. Female head.
515 (395). **Madrid** 11542 (L. 460). Swan. *PP*, p. 95.
516 (396). **Madrid** 11543. Swan. *PP*, p. 95.
517. **Dunedin** E 41.1. Ht. 19·5. Swan.
518. **Paestum,** from Paestum (excavations of 1950). Ht. 19·5. Swan. *NdS* 1951, p. 147, no. 2.

Neck-amphorae

519 (397). **Salerno,** Museo Provinciale, from Oliveto Citra. (*a*) Woman; (*b*) youth with one foot raised. Patroni, VP, figs. 24–5.
520 (400). **Naples** 803 (inv. 82745), from Paestum. (*a*) Seated woman; (*b*) draped youth. *PP*, p. 95, n. 8.

Oenochoai (shape 3)

521 (403). **Berlin** F 3060, from Nola. Female head.
522. **Lausanne,** University. Ht. 11. Female head.
523 (404). Once London market (Sotheby *Sale Cat.* 10 April 1934, no. 120). Female head.

PAINTERS AND WORKSHOPS

I. Early Paestan

To the works of the Dirce Painter himself there is only one addition to be made, but it is a piece of considerable importance, the phlyax calyx-krater Madrid 11026 (Ossorio, pl. 39; Leroux, no. 388, pl. 49) with (*a*) Zeus and attendants, (*b*) two draped youths, which is here republished as Plate I, from new photographs kindly supplied by Sr. Vázquez de Parga of the Museo Arqueológico. The special nature of the main scenes on phlyax vases often makes it very difficult to ascribe them to their painters, but in this case the reverse leaves the matter in little doubt. As may be seen at once, it is almost identical with that of Vatican U 21 (*JHS* 1935, 43, fig. 4*b*), which I now republish from a better photograph as Plate II*a*. The proud stance of the two youths, the arrangement and patterning of their drapery, the curious rendering of the right nipple below the upper part of the arm of the left youth, the long line of the brow and nose, the drawing of the chin, the eyes and the feet show so many points of resemblance that the two scenes must surely be the work of the same artist, and we may note as well the close similarity between the pose and features of these youths and those of the two maenads on the reverse of Vienna 986 (*JHS* 1935, p. 41, fig. 3). What of the obverse? Here Zeus is represented in comic guise with a tinsel crown in his head, clutching a somewhat vegetable-looking thunderbolt in his muffled left hand, and making an unsteady homeward progress with the aid of the stick in his right. To left is an actor with a basket of cakes on his head and an askos in his right hand looking on with misgiving at his lord's uncertain steps, while to right is another who is doubtless playing the appropriate tune on the double flute he holds up to his mouth. It is a vivid and lively scene, and the Sikon krater (no. 16; *PP*, fig. 10) must yield it pride of place as the first phlyax vase of this group. A careful study of the obverse will reveal a number of stylistic features for which close parallels may be found on other vases by the Dirce Painter—note in particular the treatment of the drapery folds on the chiton of the left-hand phlyax, which may be compared with those of the canephoros on Syracuse 36334 (*PP*, pl. 1*a*), the baskets which they both carry, the straggly hair done by fine relief lines as on the Philoctetes krater (*PP*, pl. 1*b*), the rendering of the border-pattern on Zeus's cloak or of the slippers worn by all three actors (cf. Vienna 986, *PP*, pl. III*d*). Further, we may add the striking similarity of shape and patterning, even to the characteristic trick of joining the crossed square to the maeander on its right (cf. Berlin F 3296, Vatican U 21, Vienna 986, Syracuse 36319 and 36332). The Madrid krater, which had previously eluded classification, must therefore belong to the Dirce Painter, and enhances his reputation for originality of subjects.

At the head of the Dirce Painter's followers stands the Revel Painter, whose style is so close to that of his master, that it is not at all easy to distinguish between them, though, at least for the present, I prefer to keep their works apart. A new calyx-krater discovered in 1950 during excavations in the Contrada Diana on the island of Lipari links the two even more closely than before, at least to judge from the details and photographs most kindly supplied to me by Dr. Bernabò Brea. The obverse (Plate II*b*) shows to left a bearded silen, with a dish in his left hand and a wineskin in his right, in the centre a woman seated upon a high-backed chair, holding a palm-branch and an ivy-

spray, and, standing before her, one hand resting on his left hip and the other holding a thyrsus, a youthful Dionysus. On the reverse are two women, one with a thyrsus and fillet, the other with a sash, closely resembling the pair on the reverse of Hope 260 (Tillyard, pl. 35). With the vase were also found the fragments of a dish, which the excavators think may have served as a lid, though this seems improbable to me.

Shape and pattern associate the vase very closely with the Dirce Painter's calyx-kraters, and it must certainly be a product of the same workshop as his; the style, although strongly showing his influence (cf. the drapery of the seated woman with that of Electra on Syracuse 36334, or the stance of Dionysus with that of Orestes on the same vase), is more akin to that of Hope 260 and B.M. F 156 (*JHS* 1935, pl. I), on which we may observe the same use of added white for silens' tails, thyrsus-stems and garlands (less common in the Dirce Painter himself) and an extraordinary resemblance in detail between the features of the several figures upon them. Very close too is the Castelcapuano calyx-krater in Naples (no. 15; *NdS* 1935, 291, fig. 28), which in turn links these vases with the Sikon phlyax krater (no. 16; *PP*, fig. 10) once in the Ruesch Collection in Zurich. Beazley (*AJA* 1944, p. 365) also refers to a calyx-krater in Erbach with the reverse design of two women, one with wreath and thyrsus, the other with what seems to be a mirror, and ascribes it to the same hand as Copenhagen 9183, in which case it should belong here too; but I have not seen the vase and as yet have been unsuccessful in my attempts to find out more about it. A calyx-krater, formerly in the Prado (no. 120) at Madrid, but now transferred to the Museo Arqueológico (inv. 32653), may also be added to this group: it is in a very bad condition and represents (*a*) a silen gesturing as if in surprise, a standing woman with a tambourine, a seated woman and a woman leaning slightly forward over one foot, which is raised from the ground, a pose popular with the painters of this school; and (*b*) two draped youths standing beside a column.

To the other group of the Dirce Painter's followers, best represented by Louvre K 236 and 344 (*JHS* 1935, pl. 5), I should now be inclined to add the small bell-krater Madrid 11033 (L. 381) with (*a*) Eros standing in front of a seated woman who holds a tambourine (Plate II*c*), (*b*) two draped women. This vase I used to regard (*PP*, p. 14, n. 20) as Campanian, but closer study convinces me that it rightly belongs here. The vases of this group have indeed a considerable affinity with the work of the Parrish Painter, an early Campanian artist whom Beazley has recently studied in his fundamental article on Campanian red-figure in *JHS* 1943, pp. 66–111.[5] One notes a similarity in the treatment of drapery, patterns and florals (those on B.M. F 156 are

[5] To the list of his works given there on p. 72 we may add the following:—

Neck-amphorae

(i) Vienna 479. (*a*) Woman and bird on column; (*b*) two youths. Necks: sirens.

(ii) New York 91.1.455. (*a*) Youth and woman with a dog between them; (*b*) two youths. Necks: female heads.

Bell-kraters

(iii) Louvre K 239. (*a*) Europa on the bull with three youths around; (*b*) three youths. Repainted.

(iv) Paris, Musée Rodin 963. (*a*) Thiasos; (*b*) three youths. *CVA* pl. 34, 3–4; *JHS* 1952, p. 156.

(v) Haverford College, Pa. (*a*) Maenad with thyrsus; (*b*) draped youth.

Lekane

(vi) Frankfurt, Schaal pl. 57 d. Women, Erotes, warrior and silen.

Oenochoe (shape 2)

(vii) Louvre K 489. Seated woman with head thrown back.

The bell-krater Vienna 917 (SK 215, 55) with (*a*) three youths, one seated and holding the bridle of a horse, and a woman with a hydria, (*b*) three youths, to which Beazley refers as probably by the Parrish painter, is certainly by his hand, although it has been to some extent repainted.

particularly noteworthy in this respect), in the posing of the figures, and in details like the rendering of chins or the spiky wreaths (cf. Boston 03.832, *JHS* 1943, pls. 4–5, and Schaal pl. 57*d* with Louvre K 236 and 344), and it may well be that both the Parrish Painter and the artists of the Dirce Group learned their craft at the hands of the same master. The seated woman on the Madrid krater has her counterpart on an oenochoe in Bologna (437; *JHS* 1935, 53, fig. 13; *CVA*, IV Er, pl. 5, 12; here, no 35).

Two other new vases may be added to this group—a bell-krater, Syracuse 51282, with (*a*) Dionysus and a young satyr with oenochoe and kantharos, (*b*) two draped youths; and a lepaste, divided internally into four separate compartments, in Reggio Calabria (S 4799, from tomb 892 at Locri)[6] with three seated women depicted on the lid (Plate II*d*), which, unlike that of B.M. F139 (*JHS* 1935, 51, fig. 12), is in one single piece.

So far no new evidence has come to light to establish with certainty the fact that the vases of this group are really of Paestan origin. Some of the new vases by Asteas and his associates, which will be discussed in the next section, show their influence very closely and strengthen the stylistic links upon which their ascription to Paestum was based. What does, however, remain clear is that in the work of the Dirce Painter and his followers we have an interrelated group of vases, with many common features of style that are reflected in the undoubtedly Paestan vases of the next generation, and we may therefore continue to regard them as the natural precursors of the true Paestan style, while admitting the possibility of their having actually been made elsewhere. The known proveniences are widely scattered (Sicily 5, Nola 4, Lipari 2, Castelcapuano 2, Bari 1, Capua 1, Cumae 1, Locri 1, Viterbo 1), but point away from Sicily as the place of origin in the direction of Campania, with the early vases of which region I have shown ours to be most closely related, a relationship which in fact continues throughout the life of both fabrics, and naturally so, if both spring from a common source.

New interpretations of two of the scenes depicted on kraters by the Dirce Painter have recently been put forward. Picard in *CRAI* 1942, pp. 244–6, proposes, and I think quite rightly, to abandon the general description of the subject on Syracuse 36332 (*PP*, pl. II*b*) as the 'sacrifice of a Trojan' in favour of the more specific 'slaying of Dolon by Odysseus and Diomede', as recounted in *Iliad* X. Odysseus, represented, as usual, as bearded and wearing a pilos, is shown holding the cord with which Dolon's hands are bound behind his back, while Diomede bends back his head in preparation for cutting his throat. The trees on either side suggest the wood in which Dolon was ambushed and remind one of the similar scene on B.M. F 157.[7] To right, beside an Ionic column, stands Athena as the supporter of Odysseus.

In *Dioniso* x (1947), pp. 124–136, Carlo Anti proposes to reinterpret the picture on Syracuse 36334 (*PP*, pl. I*a*), which has generally been taken as representing the meeting of Orestes and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon, as the recognition scene from the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. As an objection to the old interpretation, he points out that there is nothing to associate the column with the tomb of Agamemnon, as is usually done on *Choephoroi* vases, by means of funerary vessels or offerings, and maintains that the presence of an altar in front of the column, which may be taken as a symbol for a temple, indicates that the scene is taking place in a temenos. He further suggests that

[6] *NdS* 1913, Supplemento, p. 44. [7] Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, no. 237, pl. 14; FR, 110.

the object in Pylades' right hand is a *scytale*, containing the message that Iphigenia wishes to have conveyed to Orestes, which the painter, thinking of Sparta, where one of the Atreidai ruled, has substituted for the δέλτος mentioned by Euripides. Anti frankly admits some of the difficulties of his new interpretation—the play (l. 456) specifically refers to Orestes and Pylades as having been disarmed, whereas they are shown here as bearing spears; Iphigenia is supposed (l. 725) to have dismissed all her attendants before the letter is read, and the direction of her gaze upon the vase hardly suggests that she is immediately concerned with Pylades, as one would expect her to be in the circumstances. Anti also seems to overstress the treatment of the hair, seeing in that of Orestes a greater disorder than in fact exists, and he mistakes the fillet in the attendant's right hand for a pair of shears. The known representations on vases of the letter scene in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*[8] usually show Iphigenia standing, temple-key in hand, either on the threshold of or just outside the temple, and Pylades about to receive or having just received the document, which is invariably represented as a tablet (δέλτος). Pylades also regularly carries a short knotty staff, and the general similarity between the different versions suggests a common origin, probably in the form of a great painting. The Syracuse version differs from all the others in so many main points that it is hard to accept Anti's interpretation, which largely hangs upon the somewhat dubious identification of the staff held by Pylades as a *scytale*, whereas it is far more likely to be the herald's wand (see Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, p. 16).[9]

In conclusion, it may be noted that the phlyax plate in Reggio (*PP*, p. 15, no. 30) that was published by Putortì in *Italia Antichissima* xii (1938), p. 13, pl. V, 2, does not belong to this group, nor does the dish from Castronuovo St. Andrea.[10]

II. The Workshop of Asteas and Python

The remarkable similarity in technique, composition, figure-drawing and pattern-work to be observed among the many vases associated with Asteas and Python leads, as Beazley has pointed out (*AJA* 1944, p. 364), to the conclusion that these two artists must have worked together, presumably in close co-operation, in the same factory. Each seems to have influenced the style of the other, and both to have had so profound an effect upon that of their 'extremely well-drilled associates', that it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between their respective works. However, the new vases of this group give some help in that direction, and with their aid it is possible to secure a somewhat better and more precise classification than before.

(i) *Asteas*

Of the new vases that seem directly attributable to the hand of Asteas, perhaps the most interesting is the large calyx-krater (Pl. III) recently acquired by the Nicholson

[8] Séchan, *Études sur la Tragédie*, pp. 378–388, figs. 112–4; *PP*, p. 59, n. 4, where the calyx-krater in Ferrara is added to his list. A further addition is a Campanian neck-amphora of the AV Group recently acquired by the Nicholson Museum, Sydney (51.17), which shows Iphigenia with the key standing in front of the altar and holding out the letter to Pylades. Louvre K 404, despite Séchan's doubts, should also be included in the general list of *IT* vases.

[9] The altar may be a reminiscence of the Tarentine custom of offering heroic sacrifice to the Atreidai and others, and on one special day a θυσία to the Agamemnonidai. See A. D. Nock, 'The Cult of Heroes', in *Harvard Theological Review* xxxvii (1944), p. 146, and Giannelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*, 42 f.

[10] *PP*, p. 15, n. 25; now published by Sestieri in *Dioniso* vii (1939), p. 194, see Beazley, *AJA* 1944, p. 365.

Museum in Sydney University,[11] since it provides a closer link between his work and that of the early Paestan artists than had previously been available. Its shape lies between that of Louvre K 236 (*PP*, fig. 8) and the Madrid krater (*PP*, pl. VII); the short stem and comparatively low handles with an outward rather than an upward curve relate it to the former, while the taller, almost cylindrical body is nearer to the latter. The Berlin and Naples kraters (*PP*, pl. V*b*, VI*b*) show a further stage in development, both having appreciably taller stems. The pattern resembles that on the reverse of the Phrixus krater; meanders with dividing lines between them occur also on theMadrid and Berlin kraters.

The obverse represents a Dionysiac scene with the figures disposed at different levels in the manner favoured by Asteas, though rather less symmetrically than usual. Below is a woman with one foot raised, leaning slightly forward to rest her hand on the shoulder of a seated woman with a tambourine. Somewhat above is seated another woman with a thyrsus, and to right stands a bearded silen. The upper register shows a bearded silen with thyrsus and fawnskin holding a wreath above the head of the second woman, and the bust of a woman looking towards him. The picture is framed between reserved bands with small white capitals as on the Cadmus krater (*PP*, pl. V*a*). On the reverse are two draped youths between the characteristic Paestan framing palmettes. At first sight they might seem to be more closely related to those of the Asteas Group than to Asteas himself, as both wear himatia with faint embattled borders. Their stances, however, are slightly different from those regularly used by the group artists; the figure to right may be paralleled to some extent on Vatican U 19 (*PP*, pl. X*f*), and the long, sweeping curve of the drapery concealing the right arm of the left-hand youth is also found on B.M. F 153 and Madrid 11019 (*PP*, pl. X*d*, *e*).

The obverse figures relate the vase closely to the work of the preceding group of painters—for the silen to right we may compare Hope 260 and Vienna 986; the woman with one foot raised we have already noted as a stock figure in the earlier group; the seated figures and the drapery find parallels on the Reggio lepaste (Pl. II*d*), Louvre K 236, Vatican U 21, Vienna 986, etc. With the signed vases of Asteas the closest parallels are with the Hesperides on the Naples lekythos (*PP*, pl. IV), and with the reverses of the Cadmus and Madrid kraters (*PP*, fig. 5 and pl. VIII). The vase therefore is of some importance as emphasising the relationship between the work of Asteas and the group of vases designated as early Paestan.

Another calyx-krater of considerable interest, which also belongs here, was found in Taranto in October 1938 and is now in the Museum there.[12] Unfortunately it was discovered in a very fragmentary state and needed a good deal of restoration (including the complete foot) before it could be put together. On the obverse (Pl. V*c*) is an old white-haired comic actor, wearing the typical phlyax costume, with the characteristic Paestan stripes down the arms and legs, and carrying upon his head a large basin-like object; to left is Dionysus with a tambourine and to right a woman holding up a tamtourine and dancing. The pattern consists of stopped meanders with a chequer (cf. Sydney, Phrixus, Berlin). On the reverse is a woman with a mirror and a phiale beside a bearded silen who holds out a wreath over a small altar.

[11] Inv. 49.01.
[12] I owe photographs of this vase and permission to reproduce them to the kindness of Dr. Ciro Drago.

From the treatment of the figures the krater may be regarded as an early work by Asteas himself, standing fairly near in style to his phlyax-krater in Berlin. The figure of Dionysus is close to the Dionysus on that vase and on the reverse of the Madrid krater (*PP*, pl. VIII); the dancing maenad has a counterpart on the reverse of the Phrixus krater, the bearded silen on the same vase and on the Cadmus krater. He and the draped woman serve also to link the vase with several of the Early Paestan group, and in particular Naples 2097 (*PP*, fig. 4). Not much remains of the old phlyax, but enough to show that he is of the breed of Charinos. The object that he carries upon his head is not very easy to identify—it is clearly of metal, with swinging handles at either side, and a hollow cylindrical base. It might perhaps be a foot-bath, though they do not normally have such a high stand (cf. Milne, *AJA* 1944, p. 62); a wine-cooler would be more appropriate.

The provenience of the vase is important, especially in the light of the view, which was strongly held by Rizzo, that Asteas was a Tarentine who subsequently moved to Paestum and worked there. Other Paestan vases (notably the Opheltes fragments in Bari and a neck-amphora of the Asteas Group in the Louvre) have been found at Taranto, so this vase may well have been an export, since the stylistic background of Asteas and his circle has been shown to be a group of vases which nobody has yet thought of as Tarentine. We should not, however, exclude the possibility of Tarentine influence upon Asteas—his more pretentious vases, for example, seem to reflect distantly the work of the Lycurgus Painter and his associates (cf. the bearded Herakles on the Madrid krater with Boreas on B.M. 1931.5–11.1 (*JHS* 1931, pl. IV), or with Pluto on B.M. F 277).

Another phlyax vase[13] which, after careful study, I am now sure belongs to Asteas is the broken griffin-head rhyton Syracuse 29966, a new photo of which (Pl. V*a*) I owe to the kindness of Dr. Bernabò Brea. It was found in the Contrada Buffalaro on the Epipoli at Syracuse and first published by Pace in 'Ceramiche figurate di fabbrica siceliota' in *Atti Acc. Arch. Lett. Napoli* xii (1932), p. 333 n. 2, figs. 5–6 and again by him in *Arte e Civiltà nella Sicilia* ii, p. 474, figs. 344–5; a fuller study by Arias may be found in *Dioniso* iv (1935), pp. 283–5, figs. 3–4. The scene represents an old man with a bent stick looking into a mirror held up by his servant. Both wear the typical Paestan phlyax costume—a red jerkin with tightly fitting hose on arms and legs; the old man has the lower part of his body enveloped in a himation, the slave wears a short tunic. Similar figures may be seen on the Berlin krater (*PP*, pl. V*b*; cf. especially the beard of the old man and the mask of his slave), on B.M. F 150 and on other phlyax vases of this group. The treatment of nose and eye is also characteristic of Asteas (cf. *PP*, p. 27); note the use

[13] To the bibliography of phlyax vases given on p. xiv of *Paestan Pottery* the following additions should be made:—

A. K. H. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae* (Emsdetten, 1938).

M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1939); here cited as Bieber, *HT*.

A. Olivieri, *Frammenti della Commedia fliacica*, 2nd ed., Naples, 1947.

T. B. L. Webster, 'South Italian Vases and Attic Drama' in *CQ* 1948, pp. 15–27.

T. B. L. Webster, 'The Masks of Greek Comedy' in *Bull. Rylands Library* xxxii, 1949, pp. 97–133.

T. B. L. Webster, 'Masks on Gnathia Vases' in *JHS* 1951, pp. 222–232.

Frances F. Jones (compiler), *The Theater in Ancient Art* (Catal. of an Exhibition in the Art Museum, Princeton University, 10 December 1951–6 January 1952).

On the stages on phlyax vases, see in particular Bieber, *HT*, p. 298, and Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, pp. 617 ff. Additional illustrations to those given on *PP*, pp. 26–27, will be found in: (i) a bell-krater in Würzburg showing an old man giving a spear to a seated warrior—low stage supported on two columns; (ii) a bell-krater by the same painter in the Hirsch Collection, New York (no. 703), with an old woman coming out of a door to greet a white-haired man on a low, unsupported stage structure.

of white in the eyes and for the space between the eye and the brow. Provenience is once again interesting, since attempts have been made to attach this vase to a local Sicilian fabric. Pace lists the following other phlyax vases as of certain Sicilian provenience:—

1. Calyx-krater, Lentini. Herakles and Auge. Fiorentini, *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.* vi (1943), pp. 39–52, figs. 1–5, pls. I–II.

2. Bell-krater, Catania, Museo Biscari 735, from Camarina. Heracles with the Cercopes. Pace, fig. 4; Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, pl. 83.

3. Skyphos, Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala 12, from Centuripae. Heracles, woman and slave. Pace, fig. 3.

4. Oenochoe, Milan 340. Phlyax and Pan on a goat. *Coll. Sambon*, pl. III, 34.

5. Oenochoe, Milan 338. Two phlyax actors. *Coll. Sambon*, pl. III, 17.

and adds the Glasgow calyx-krater (03.70*f*; Pace, fig. 1) as coming from Lipari, noting that two other vases, the tunny-seller krater in Cefalù (Rizzo, *Dedalo* vii, pp. 403 ff.) and an oenochoe in Syracuse from Buccheri (25166; Pace, fig. 2), both have subjects akin to those on the phlyax vases. The only additions I have to make to his list are the see-saw calyx-krater, Syracuse 47039, from Canicattini Bagni (*CVA*, IV E, pls. 3–4; *Bollettino d'Arte* 1950, p. 107, fig. 13) and a small oenochoe in the Otago Museum, Dunedin (E 39.68), from Lipari, showing a phlyax with a basket. Of these, nos. 1, 3, 4 and the Glasgow krater I regard as Campanian, nos. 2 and 5 as Tarentine; about the Canicattini krater I feel less sure, since it has decided stylistic affinities with some of the vases in the early Paestan group, especially its reverse, but at present I should also classify it as Campanian, remembering the close relationship between the two styles. Thus, except for provenience, there seems to be little to connect these vases with Sicily; and if we are to look for a local fabric, I should prefer to start with the vases from Lentini and elsewhere, which have much more the appearance of local imitations, either of late fifth or early fourth century Attic vases or of the work of the Dirce Painter,[14] and are characterised by the curiously uneven texture of the black glaze, a phenomenon which occurs also on Corinthian imitations of Attic r.f.

[14] Good examples of the close imitation of late fifth century Attic r.f. may be seen in a group of calyx-kraters, all by the same hand:—

1. Madrid 11022 (L. 587). (*a*) Eros flying to crown a banqueter with a bead-chain, to r. a bearded silen with a kantharos; (*b*) three youths.

2. B.M. F 37. (*a*) Two banqueters at cottabos, and Eros flying with a bead-chain; (*b*) two youths.

3. Syracuse 36209, from Syracuse (Fusco). *CVA*, IV, E, pl. 7, 4–5. (*a*) Bearded man approaching a serpent-guarded tree in the presence of a woman; (*b*) fight between three warriors.

In all three vases the clay is a rich orange-red and there is great similarity in pattern (note especially the dots in the chequer squares), shape, in the treatment of the hair and in many other details.

Very close in style are three other vases of a paler pinkish clay:—

4. Bell-krater, Madrid 11030 (L. 233). (*a*) Woman dancing to the accompaniment of a seated woman playing the flute, bearded silen seated in front of standing woman playing the flute; (*b*) three dancing women. Dotted chequers are again used with the meanders.

5. Calyx-krater, Syracuse 37171, from Lentini. *CVA*, IV E, pl. 7, 1. (*a*) Seated and standing women at cottabos with flying Eros; (*b*) silen pursuing maenad.

6. Calyx-krater, Vatican S 9 (*a*) Pan, maenad, Eros and seated woman, (*b*) two draped youths.

To the above list may also be added:—

7. Skyphos, Boston 03.824, from Campania. (*a*) Agaev with the head of Pentheus preceded by a maenad; (*b*) two maenads with thyrsi, swinging a kid between them.

The style is a little cruder than that of the other six vases, but the skyphos certainly belongs here.

It is probable that in origin these vases are Campanian of the early fourth century and that the two found in Sicily are imports rather than local products. The last four must be about contemporary with the early vases of the Dirce Painter, a nearer imitation of whose work may be seen in a bell-krater from Lentini, Syracuse 37059, with (*a*) Orestes on the altar with two Furies; (*b*) two youths, mostly missing (*CVA*, IV E, Pl. 10, 1); cf. also the calyx-krater 47102 (*CVA*, IV E, pl. 5) with (*a*) three maenads and a bearded silen; (*b*) two draped youths. I hope to deal more fully with the whole question of the so-called 'Sicilian' vases elsewhere; meantime see also *Bulletin van de Vereniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antike Beschaving*, The Hague, 24–26 (1949–51), p. 35.

To the list of bell-kraters by Asteas there are three additions:—

1. Paestum, from Paestum. (*a*) Dionysus and a satyr; (*b*) two draped youths. Marzullo, *Tombe Dipinte*, p. 12; Patroni, *VP*, figs. 16–17; here pl. IV*a*.

2. Turin 4703. (*a*) Dionysus and a young silen playing the flute; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. IV*b*.

3. Vienna 4231 (formerly in the Polytechnic Institute). (*a*) Dionysus and a bearded silen; (*b*) two draped youths. Pl. VI*a*.

The Turin krater is very close to B.M. F 153 (*PP*, fig. 219, pl. X*d*), and its reverse shows youths with almost identical drapery and in much the same poses (see *PP*, p. 41). The reverse of the krater from Paestum goes very closely with that of B.M. F 152 (*PP*, pl. X*b*), and it is very clear that all these vases belong together and form a highly compact group. The contents of the tomb in which this vase was found are of interest: in addition to the bell-krater were found the skeleton of a warrior with fragments of his armour (helmet, a breast plate of the so-called Samnite type, spear and girdle—Marzullo, *op. cit.* figs. 4–5), a lekythos (*VP*, figs. 18–19; here no. 274) of the Asteas–Python workshop, a small skyphos with figures in applied red (*VP*, figs. 20–21), four small black vases and a bronze strigil. The finding of a vase with applied red figures in such a context is an argument in favour of its possible local origin, and to this problem I shall return later when dealing with the minor vases and the finds from Pontecagnano (see p. 37).

The remaining krater (Pl. VI*a*) stands near in style to Giudice 193 (*PP*, fig. 17, pl. X*c*); the reverse, which has been retouched a good deal, represents two youths, one of whom is posed in the manner of the youth to left on B.M. F 152, the other as the one to right, save that his himation has a light embattled pattern at the top. I have already (*PP*, p. 41) drawn attention to the fact that the normal Asteas reverse designs have plain borders while those of Python tend to have a strong embattled pattern—between the two lies an intermediate group which shows the use of both styles on the same vase (cf. Pls. VII–IX). Because of the strong similarity between the silen on Madrid 11484 (L. 479) and those on the Vienna and Giudice kraters, I have transferred that vase to this section; the Oxford phlyax krater is now seen to belong to the intermediate group referred to above.

One other vase may perhaps be looked at here—a bell-krater in Reading University (50.5.2) which shows: (*a*) a youth leaning forward over his raised foot and talking to a bearded silen holding a bell and a thyrsus (Pl. VI*b*); (*b*) two draped youths. The obverse looks not unlike an inferior copy of an Asteas krater; the reverse even more so, as the youths, despite their repainted faces, are little more than clumsy reproductions of those on the Giudice krater. The vase is therefore probably to be classed among the minor products of the main workshop.

(ii) *The Asteas Group*

I keep this name, but now apply it in particular to that class of vase which, while clearly coming from the Asteas–Python workshop, seems to me to show a greater affinity to the style of Asteas than to that of Python. Some of the newly discovered vases contribute a great deal to the clarification of this group, and the relevant section of the catalogue (nos. 66–145) has been re-arranged to put together those vases most

closely related in style. Some of the minor items have now been transferred to the general group (nos. 208–329) at the end.

Madrid 11037 (L. 383) seems to be an early vase in this group. The obverse (Pl. VI*c*) shows a seated youth holding out a wreath and a phiale to a woman with a thyrsus and a fillet; the reverse (Pl. VI*c*) two draped youths, in pose and style very near indeed to those of Asteas. We may note that, though the krater has assumed its typical Paestan shape, the framing palmettes are still in a simpler form than usual, like those on the reverse of the Berlin krater by Asteas (*PP*, fig. 11). Madrid 11059 (*PP*, fig. 30) seems to represent the next stage in development from this vase.

We must now consider two bell-kraters in the National Museum at Dublin, for photographs of which and permission to reproduce them here (Pl. VII) I am deeply indebted to the Museum authorities. The first 510–1880 (Pl. VII*a*) shows Dionysus with a maenad; the second 505–1880 (Pl. VII*b*) a maenad with a young silen. Both seem to be clearly by the same hand and extremely close in style to the work of Asteas, as is evident from a comparison between the maenads and Nelisa on the Hesperides lekythos (*PP*, pl. IV). The reverse of the first is similar to that of the Giudice krater, though here the youths wear wreaths and carry sticks; likewise with the reverse of the second, though on this vase it will be noted that the himation of the youth to left has now a light embattled border. This relates the vase to two others that must belong to the same group—the krater in Oxford published and discussed by Beazley in *AJA* 1944, pp. 357, figs. 1–3 (here Pl. VIII*a*), and the krater once in the Museum Disneianum (pls. 119–120: Beazley, *loc. cit.* fig. 4) and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for new photographs of which and permission to reproduce them here (Pl. VIII*b*) I am greatly obliged to the Syndics of the Museum. The photographs tell a clearer tale than the old drawing, and I should no longer attribute the vase to Python himself as I did in *Paestan Pottery*. Another lost vase, once in the Vatican Library (Beazley, *loc. cit.* fig. 5), turned up recently in the London market and was acquired for the University of Reading by Mrs. A. D. Ure, to whose kindness I owe the photographs here reproduced on Pl. XIII*b*. Once again it will be seen that Passeri's old drawing was misleading and the resemblance of its reverse to those of the Disney and Oxford vases far less than might be supposed from a comparison of the earlier reproductions: it is in fact very much in the style of Python (cf. B.M. F 189 and the Sydney kraters—here Pls. XII*c* and XIII*a*), and I think the vase should continue to be placed among his works rather than in the present group.

From the design on the reverse (here Pl. IX*a*) it seems clear that we must now attach to this group Oxford 1928.12, which I had previously assigned to the hand of Asteas himself. The scene, which is curiously like the obverse of one of the less elaborate vases, shows a youth with a skewer of fruit, draped in the manner of the youths to left on the two kraters just referred to and on Dublin 505. Beside him stands a maenad with wreath and fillet, and embattled stripe running down her drapery, and one leg bent at the knee behind the other—the reverse of the pose on Dublin 505. Also here will belong, as Beazley has already indicated (*loc. cit.* p. 363), Louvre K 247 and 248, for the youths on the reverse of the former (Pl. IX*c*) are almost a duplicate of those on the Disney vase, while those on the latter (Pl. IX*d*) may be compared with the figures on several kraters in Madrid and elsewhere, all of which are linked together by repetitions of various kinds. I should also be tempted to add the phlyax krater in Hanover (Pl. IX*b*), which

I once attributed to Python, but now regard as more akin to Oxford 1928.12 and other vases of this group.

A visit to the Boston Museum in December 1951 revealed in the basement two important new additions to this group, which I publish here (Pl. XVII) through the kindness of the late Dr. G. H. Chase. Both are bell-kraters, almost identical in size and of the same brownish-coloured clay. On the obverse of 95.834 Dionysus is shown offering an egg or a fruit to a young silen who stands before him, with one foot raised on a mound, holding a white fillet in his hands. He is clearly a very close relative of the Oxford and Disney silens and also of the silen on Vatican U 25 (*PP*, fig. 22), which has been assigned to Asteas himself. Dionysus, though different from the one on the other side of the Vatican krater, is also very much in the manner of Asteas, and the possibility that he is responsible for the vases of this group is not altogether to be excluded, though I still prefer to keep them separate. The other krater (95.835) shows Dionysus in converse with a maenad, the lower half of whose body is draped in a himation and who carries in her muffled left hand a white thyrsus. She is less carefully drawn and draped than her Dublin counterparts and looks more as if she had stepped over from one of the minor pieces, but the Dionysus is very much at home in this group.

The reverse figures on both kraters are of particular interest—in each case a single bearded silen, first leaning in a relaxed pose against a pillar, holding a skewer of fruit and a tambourine; then, in more active guise, running along with a torch and a phiale, a fawnskin draped over the left arm. The general practice with Asteas-Python bell-kraters is to have either two figures on each side, or one only: the two and one combination is rare, occurring again only in Madrid 11069 and Florence 671. The bearded silens remind us of the silen's bust which appears on the reverse of the Asteas krater in Madrid (*PP*, pl. VIII), though they are less carefully drawn; nearer perhaps are the silens on the hydria and lekane at Paestum (here nos. 89 and 124) or the Haverford oenochoe (no. 138). Note also the crossed leg pose on 95.834, in which one leg seems to fuse into the other: we see it again on Oxford 1942.293 or Louvre K 248. The influence of the silens on the work of Python (cf. Vatican 120, Louvre K 238, Vienna 206) may also be mentioned. The two Boston kraters serve to re-emphasise the extremely close stylistic relationship between Asteas, Python and their associates.

Next some neck-amphorae, and first, two of recent discovery now in the Museo Provinciale at Salerno, both published by Patroni in *VP* (figs. 40–1, 52–3). The former (here Pl. X*a*), which was found at Altavilla, represents: (*a*) a youth and a woman; (*b*) two draped youths; the other (Pl. X*b*), probably from Pontecagnano: (*a*) a youth wearing a pilos offering a wreath to a woman; (*b*) two draped youths. The female figures, especially that on the Altavilla amphora, recall at once those of the Dublin krater and the reverse of Oxford 1928.12, and I think there need be little hesitation in assigning them to the same painter. Patroni has already called him the Altavilla Painter and further identifies Madrid 11231 and 11232 (*PP*, figs. 31–2) as by his hand, an attribution with which I am in complete agreement. The reverses all link up together also. Patroni mentions (*VP*, ii, p. 22) that the little thrush that appears on the neck of the Pontecagnano amphora (his fig. 53) has no certain Paestan parallels—this is not so, for it recurs often on several lekanai of the Asteas–Python workshop (e.g. Louvre K 573, two from Paestum, Madrid 11325, 11335, etc.) and on a small squat lekythos in the B.M. (F 243,

CVA, ii, IV Ea, pl. 12, 5) which from its framing palmettes and from the treatment of the bird I take to be Paestan rather than Campanian. Several other neck-amphorae also belong to this group or stand very near to it, but as they have already been discussed in *PP* (p. 51), it will suffice merely to list them in their proper place in the catalogue. Also in close relationship stand the two large hydriai Madrid 11137–8.

The Altavilla Painter has a style, for all its closeness to that of Asteas, sufficiently individual to warrant separate treatment: there follows a large group of vases with many features in common with those just discussed, but hardly worth attempting to survey in more than general terms.

The hydriai Berlin F 3032 (*PP*, fig. 28), Karlsruhe 351, Hope 264 are good examples of this class, to which must now be added the krater Berlin F 3050 (*PP*, fig. 46), which I formerly listed in error among the works of Python. Less elaborate vases of the same type are B.M. F 360 and 67.5–8.1318 (*CVA*, IV Ea, pls. 4, 9 and 12) and a host of smaller pieces, amongst which we should include a series of lekanai (nos. 121–130) upon which is normally represented a silen, a woman or a youth, generally in conjunction with Eros or a bird. The Como lekane, discussed at length by Patroni in *Eros e Sirena* (*Rend. Ist. Lomb.* ser. ii, vol. 50, 1917, pp. 137–166), combines Eros with a siren, though I doubt whether one should look for any deep eschatological significance in this. The representation of the bearded silen (cf. Paestum 1247) or his more youthful counterpart (Paestum 1248, here Pl. XI*d*) associates the vases closely with those of Asteas and the Altavilla Painter: similar figures recur with great frequency on the vases of this group (cf. Paestum 1273—here Pl. XI*c*; Salerno—here no. 141; Rome—Museo Pigorini; Haverford College; etc.), and on the minor vases (e.g. the Detroit lebes gamikos, here no. 248 bis). Scenes with Eros or associated with the toilet of women are also very popular. To the list of bell-kraters must be added the one from the Vogell Collection mentioned and illustrated by Beazley (*AJA* 1944, p. 365, fig. 7) and another in Toulouse with (*a*) Dionysus standing, (*b*) a seated woman (here Pl. XI*b*), who reappears on a squat lekythos in Haverford College, Pa. (here no. 145)[15]

Later in this group come the somewhat more elaborate vases like Louvre K 301 and Berlin F 3058 (*PP*, pl. XIII*b*, *c*). The rounded features of the figures upon them may also be observed on the Hermes of the Berlin hydria F 3033 (*PP*, pl. XII*d*); the general treatment and composition, with the use of busts above, reminds one of some of the vases by Asteas, in particular the Sydney calyx-krater (Pl. III).

Here also belongs the large neck-amphora in the Fienga Collection at Nocera dei Pagani representing: (*a*) a youth and a woman in a black chiton with offerings at a stele, beside the top of which appear two female busts; (*b*) two draped youths. On the neck is: (*a*) a siren with a basket of offerings, and (*b*) a female head. I owe my knowledge of this vase in the first instance to the kindness of Sir John Beazley but, as the Fienga Collection was unfortunately inaccessible to me last year, I have not seen the actual vase. From the description it seemed near to the style of Python, and I included it as no. 204 in the catalogue among the vases assigned to him. Now, however, from photographs kindly given to me by Dr. Karl Lehmann of New York I see that it should more properly be placed among the vases of the Asteas Group, following Louvre K 301 (no. 133) with which it has close stylistic affinities. Both neck-amphorae have similar

[15] I owe my knowledge of the Toulouse and Haverford vases in the first instance to Dr. von Bothmer.

decoration as well as a siren upon the neck of the obverse (see Buschor, *Die Musen von Jenseits*); both show the same rather rounded type of features and long straggly hair. The woman on the Fienga vase is wearing a black chiton as a sign of mourning; we see the same thing upon several vases by the Boston Orestes Painter (e.g. Hope 265, Berlin F 3025, Boston 99.540, Vienna 478 and Louvre K 308) who was probably influenced by such a work as this.

The most interesting addition to the group is the phlyax skyphos recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.[16] It represents (*a*) a phlyax with an acrobat, (*b*) a maenad with a tambourine, and a seated youth (Pl. V*b*). The scene on the obverse is most unusual—the phlyax is bending down to work the strings that serve to raise or lower the revolving stool upon which the acrobat is performing. Her features resemble those of the Eros on Louvre K 301 (*PP*, pl. XIII*b*): the phlyax might be associated with his Hanover and other Oxford colleagues, though here he is less elegant. Above hangs a female mask in white—very similar to that on the Hanover vase; immediately beside it to the right is the ghost of another, which the artist seems to have thought better of and blacked out. The reverse is cruder in style and less careful.

From this group the Amsterdam fragment 2491 (*PP*, fig. 39, no. 68) has been removed, as re-examination shows it to be Apulian rather than Paestan.

(iii) *Python*

Although there are comparatively few new vases to add to the list of Python's works, several that were formerly lost to sight or inaccessible have now reappeared[17] and thus have made possible a fuller study of his style. The additions are as follows:—

Bell-kraters

1. Mannheim. Here no. 154, pl. XII*a*. (*a*) Dionysus and a bird; (*b*) two draped youths. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, p. 45, fig. 45.[18]

2. Ravello, Tallon-Lacaita Collection. Here no. 166. (*a*) Dionysus and a phlyax actor; (*b*) two draped youths. *Dioniso* vii (1939), p. 162; *AA* 1940, 512–13, fig. 40.[19]

3. Sydney 49.09. Here no. 169, pl. XIII*a*. (*a*) Dionysus and a maenad; (*b*) two draped youths.

4. Warsaw, Majewski Museum. Here no 181. (*a*) Dionysus and a maenad; (*b*) two draped youths. Bernhard, *Wazy greckie*, pl. 10.

Stemless Cup

5. Salerno, Museo Provinciale. Here no. 199. Bearded silen seated on pointed amphora. Patroni, *VP*, figs. 56–7.

The new Mannheim and Sydney kraters are both excellent examples of what we may call Python's standard style. On each, Dionysus is shown seated upon a curling tendril, his legs covered with a himation with typical embattled border. On the former,

[16] 1945.43. *Report of the Visitors to the Ashmolean Museum* 1945, p. 12, pl. II*a*.

[17] The lost bell-krater formerly in the Vatican Library (Passeri, pls. 123–4) is now Reading University 51.7.11, and is here no. 172, pl. XIII*b*; Hope 270 is now Sydney W 5 (no. 170); Hope 271 and 273, formerly in Dunecht, are now in Los Angeles (nos. 156 and 171); Hope 272 and 278 are now Sydney 47.04 and 48.04 respectively (nos. 151 and 157, pls. XII*b* and *c*); Hope 274 is now Dunedin E 48.261 (no. 182); Hope 280 is in Dundee (no. 153). Hope 276, 277 and 279 still remain unaccounted for; nos. 276 and 279 passed into the Howard collection, reappearing on the market at Sotheby's in 1929 (*Sale Cat.* nos. 86 and 84 respectively), since when they have passed from sight.

[18] Brommer not unreasonably confuses this vase with Hope 280 (now in Dundee) but, though similar, they are not the same; the Mannheim silen raises one foot from the ground and carries a thyrsus, his Dundee counterpart stands upright and carries a situla.

[19] The writer of the article in *AA* erroneously states that the vase was acquired by the Naples Museum.

an actor dressed up as an old papposilen holds up before him a bird, perhaps the very one with which he had confounded the sphinx on the Naples krater (2846; *PP*, pl. XXI*a*); on the latter, the bird, very much alive, sits upon the lap of Dionysus and looks round hopefully at the maenad who stands in front of him, with a wreath held up in her right hand. She wears a dappled fawnskin of the same make as the papposilen's—it is a great favourite with Python and we can see it frequently on his vases (cf. reverse of the B.M. Orestes krater, Sydney 47.04, Naples 2846, Los Angeles (Hope 273), Reading 51.7.11, Naples 1787). Otherwise she is very like Amphitrite on the Copenhagen neck-amphora (*PP*, pl. XXVI) or the women on Naples 1787 (*PP*, pl. XXI*d*) and Vatican U 23 (*PP*, pl. XXIV*a*). In general, Python has more touches of colour on his vases than will be found on those of Asteas and his group—he makes a far greater use of added red for fillets or details of drapery, and of a golden-brown wash, especially for fawnskins, which are also dappled in black and white, like the rock on which the sphinx sits. We may also note the use of the wave pattern as a decorative motive for drapery (cf. the reverse of his signed vase in the B.M. and Copenhagen 8377).

The reverse of the Sydney vase (Pl. XIII*a*) links it very closely with the 'lost' vase once in the Biblioteca Vaticana and now in Reading University (Pl. XIII*b*), photographs of which I owe to the kindness of Mrs. A. D. Ure. Beazley, republishing the vase from the drawings in Passeri (*AJA* 1944, p. 362, fig. 5), was misled by them into seeing a closer affinity with the reverses of some of the vases now assigned to the Altavilla Painter (e.g. Oxford 1942.293, Cambridge 43.7, Louvre K 247) than in actual fact exists. If we study them together (here Pls. VIII and IX) a certain measure of difference will be apparent, notably in the treatment of the embattled border pattern, which in Python is usually heavier and more extensive. Also characteristic is the oblong fold of drapery which envelops the left arm of the standing figure to right. The combination, which appears on the reverse of the Reading and Sydney kraters, is very popular with Python and appears again on B.M. F 189 (*PP*, pl. XXVII*b*), Liverpool M 10711 (here Pl. XII*b*), SydneyW 5, Los Angeles A 5933 50–36 and 46, Louvre K 242–3, and the right-hand figure on Berlin 4532 (*PP*, pl. XXVII*e*) as well, or with slightly less of his right arm exposed on Sydney 47.04, Sydney 48.04 and Madrid 11028. A variant of the left-hand youth, in which the himation instead of forming a V-shaped opening at the breast is draped across the middle and over the left shoulder, occurs on Berlin 4532 and Sydney 48.04. The other standard Python types show the himation draped across the breast and enveloping the left arm (Dunedin E 48.261, Madrid 11028, Louvre N 3157, Copenhagen 257B), or open at the breast in a U-shaped curve and sometimes drawn up on top of the head as well (e.g. Sydney 47.04, Copenhagen 257*b* and 8377). These types, though they are clearly derived from those of Asteas (cf. *PP*, pl. X and above p. 30), show considerable variations from his in points of detail, notably in the perpetual use of strongly embattled borders, which have a pronounced tendency to fall, where possible, in straight lines. Python's drapery, in comparison with that of Asteas, has a stiffer and more starched look, as if his figures stood in a vacuum.

The Ravello krater is an interesting addition to the list of Python's phlyax vases. The actor is, as usual, wearing a golden-striped white tunic (cf. Vatican U 18, Madrid 11028, B.M. F 189, Liverpool M 10711—*PP*, pls. XXII–XXIII) and, as on Madrid

11028 or Louvre K 244, is carrying a flaming torch in one hand. In the other is an egg or perhaps a cake, for the basket on Louvre K 244 has some similar small objects in it, into which Pesce (*Dioniso* vii (1939), p. 162) reads a cosmogonic significance, which seems to be pressing things a little too far. The centaur and phlyax krater once owned by Pacileo in Naples (*JdI* 1886, p. 304) should probably also find a place in this group (Beazley, *AJA* 1944, p. 365).

The Warsaw krater is a typical example of the standard two-figure composition that we normally find on bell-kraters at this time; the missing Hope vase (278) now in Sydney (Pl. XII*c*) shows in addition a veiled figure in a window looking down upon Dionysus, who holds up to her a bird like the one on the Dundee and Mannheim kraters. To right stands a bearded silen, who reappears on some single-figure vases (e.g. Vatican U 15; Warsaw, once Castle Branicki; Naples 818; Compiègne 1026) and may also be seen on the new stemless cup, probably from Pontecagnano, now in the Salerno museum (Patroni, *VP*, figs. 56–7), which is a simpler counterpart of Vienna 206 (not 602 as incorrectly stated in *PP*, p. 66, no. 155, pl. XX*c*).

If the new vases do nothing much to enhance Python's reputation, at least they help us to a clearer understanding of his style and achievement. That he worked in the closest collaboration with Asteas is obvious from the marked similarities of their styles, which even now are not always easy to distinguish sharply. As Beazley has pointed out (*AJA* 1944, pp. 364–365) the more pretentious efforts of this workshop are horrible failures, the less elaborate pieces are the best. Within certain limits Asteas and Python had learnt their craft well and both can produce very respectable two-figure vases, those with phlyax scenes being perhaps the best of this class. They seem to have kept a pattern-book in which the chief figures are Dionysus, young, bearded, or old silens, maenads, Pan and phlyax actors, from which almost any combination of two may be selected to decorate the obverse of a vase. Thus in general there is such uniformity of treatment that the vases are not easily arranged in chronological sequence, though they must belong as a whole to the third quarter of the fourth century, contemporary with the same sort of stock figures that we find so frequently recurring on the Campanian vases of the AV Group or, a little later, the CA Painter and his associates.

(iv) *Minor Vases*

In addition to the larger and more elaborately decorated pieces already discussed, the workshop of Asteas and Python produced many smaller vases decorated with single figures from the standard repertory—seated or standing women, running youths, silens, Erotes and female heads. On them we find the same decorative patterns and ornamentation (e.g. the framing palmettes, embattled borders, etc.) as on the more important vases, and it is not improbable that some of these trifling pieces may be from the hand of one of the masters themselves. They are hardly worth study in detail and a full list is given in the catalogue, with illustrations of some of the representative new items on Pl. XIV. What is interesting, however, is the fact that so many vases of this class have been found in and around Paestum. In the Soprintendenza alle Antichità at Salerno there are at present (May 1951) the contents of some humble tombs excavated in 1944 at Pontecagnano, on the road between Salerno and Paestum. They are to be transferred in due season to the new museum at Paestum, now in course of erection. I list the finds as I

saw them at the Soprintendenza, thanks to the kindness and generosity of Dr. P. C. Sestieri. The numbers in brackets are those of the catalogue at the beginning of this article.

1 (216). Calyx-krater. (*a*) Seated Dionysus; (*b*) seated silen.
2 (212). Bell-krater (fragments). (*a*) Draped woman with frontal face; (*b*) woman with spray and phiale.
3 (232). Hydria. Woman with mirror and phiale.
4 (245). Lebes gamikos. (*a*) Eros; (*b*) seated youth.
5 (268). Lekane. Female head: swan.
6 (141). Oenochoe. Capering silen.
7–14 (286–293). Eight small squat lekythoi with female heads.
15 (438). Large neck-amphora. (*a*) Youth and woman; (*b*) two draped youths. Group of Naples 1778.
16 (477). Fragments of a stemless cup. Youth offering gifts to seated woman. Group of Naples 2585.

In addition to the above red-figure vases, two with figures in applied red were found —a squat lekythos showing a seated woman, and a skyphos with (*a*) draped woman, (*b*) nude youth—together with eight small b.f. lekythoi of the 'Pagenstecher' class,[20] decorated with birds or heads. Another sporadic find from the same area is the bell-krater in the Salerno Museum (here no. 213) showing (*a*) a male, (*b*) a female head between the typical framing palmettes, the only instance known to me of heads used to decorate a Paestan vase of this shape. The Salerno Museum has also a large number of other vases from this area and other nearby sites, such as Oliveto Citra, Arenosola, and Altavilla, most of which have been listed and published by Patroni (*Rass. Stor. Sal.* ii, pp. 221–258; iii, pp. 1–36). Nearly all of them come from the Asteas–Python workshop, though a few are of later date.

Of the vases found at Pontecagnano, only two belong to the last group of Paestan, which of course descends from the work of Asteas, Python and their followers, which in its latest stages is not far removed stylistically from it. In the light of the newly discovered vases it seems better to transfer to the Asteas–Python workshop, as late pieces, some vases previously classified in the last group, especially a number of small lekythoi decorated with female heads, which clearly belong to the same class as those from Pontecagnano, and which look very much like miniature reproductions of the heads from the necks of the larger neck-amphorae of the Asteas–Python group.

The discovery along with the r.f. vases of two pieces decorated in the applied red technique raises the problem of whether these vases[21] also were made at Paestum, or not. Beazley, discussing the bell-krater in Sydney (no. 94; *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, p. 226), lists a number of such vases as 'Paestanising', but some of them seem to me so close in style to the work of the Asteas–Python group that I find it very hard to believe they were not actually made in Paestum. The Sydney krater with (*a*) seated Dionysus and woman with mirror, (*b*) youth beating tambourine and following youth with torch and situla, is very

[20] So called after their first classification by Pagenstecher in *Bulletin de la Societé Archéologique d'Alexandrie* no. 14 (1912), pp. 229 ff. For a more recent list (with other references) see also Greifenhagen, Text to *CVA*, Braunschweig, p. 44 and pl. 34. Many further additions could be made.

[21] On vases with applied red figures, see in particular Picard *BCH* 1911, p. 202; Pryce, *CVA*, B.M. vii, text to IV Eb and pls. 1–4; Trendall, *PP*, p. 108; Mustilli, *NdS* 1937, pp. 144 ff.; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, chap. XII, especially pp. 225–7. Another 'Paestanising' example is the squat lekythos Princeton 37.254 showing a youth with thyrsus and wreath.

near to the vases of the Altavilla Painter and his associates, the cups Madrid 11284 (I. youth with thyrsus) or B.M. F 539 (I. running woman) to the style of Python; other vases (e.g. skyphoi—Madrid 11415–6, Koenigsberg 101, Salerno (*VP*, figs. 7–10); amphora—Madrid 11260; squat lekythoi—Madrid 11536 and 11545) look very much like the standard minor products of the Asteas-Python workshop. The close stylistic resemblance to Paestan r.f., coupled with the fact that many of these vases have been found in or around Paestum,[22] seems to me a fairly strong indication that they are actual local products rather than imported imitations. We should also bear in mind that palmette decoration in applied red is found on a lebes gamikos in Madrid (11455), which belongs to the Asteas Group. Vases with applied red decoration are common in Etruria; they are found also in Campania, and there is no reason why they should not have been made in Paestum too.

The two fish-plates found at Paestum and now published by Lacroix in his *Faune Marine* (Naples 2550 and 2553, pls. 38 and 31) have been included in this group with some misgivings, largely on the score of provenience and because they seem to stand somewhat apart in style from other typically Campanian examples. Very near to Naples 2553 is a plate in the collection of Zurich University, which shows a similar polyp, but I am not sure that it is by the same hand. Madrid 11365 (Leroux 365, pl. 44) is also near, and has ivy leaves and flowers on the rim, as on the Naples plate.

III. The Transition Period

(i) *The Boston Orestes Painter*

There is very little new to add to this section. Two of the formerly missing Hope vases (no. 268 and 269) are now in Sydney (48.05 and 48.06; here Pls. XV*c* and *d*); there is a previously unlisted bell-krater in San Francisco (M. H. de Young Museum 225.24865; here no. 342 bis), in Turin (4696 and 4700; here Pls. XV*a* and *b*), a skyphos in the same museum (4729) and a small squat lekythos in Oxford (1945.68) with Eros, closely related in style to the similar minor products of the Asteas–Python workshop, as may be seen by comparing him with the Eros on Sydney 49.10.

A study of the reverses of the Boston Orestes Painter's kraters (cf. Pl. XV) will show at once how closely dependent he is in that regard on the style of Python. His youths are clearly descended from those on vases like Sydney 49.09, Liverpool M 10711 (see p. 35 above), though his style of drawing, especially as regards the faces, is somewhat different. So too the obverse figures (especially on Sydney 48.05; *PP*, fig. 51) find many parallels on vases from the Asteas–Python workshop, and it would be not unreasonable to imagine the Boston Orestes Painter as a late member of this group, overlapping to some measure the work of his masters, and anticipating the more decadent and broken-down style of the last phases of Paestan.

(ii) *The Caivano Group*

Beazley (*JHS* 1943, pp. 80–82) discusses briefly the importance of the Caivano Painter and his close relations with Campanian, adding a couple of vases to the list of

[22] See *VP*, figs. 5–14 and *NdS* 1937, 146–7.

his works, of which the most important is the bell-krater from Frignano (Naples 147950; here Pl. XVI*b*) showing Leda and Tyndareus watching the birth of Helen from the egg.[23]

I have now divided the Caivano vases into two sections, one of which contains the larger and more important vases by the Caivano Painter himself, the other smaller pieces, not I think necessarily by his hand, which are closely connected in style with the work of one of the last Paestan artists—the Painter of Naples 1778. This section contains a number of vases which were formerly listed as the work of that painter (e.g. Madrid 11495, 11517, 11256, and the cup from Caivano in Naples), but which I now see to be more rightly placed here, together with a number of additions[24] either previously unknown to me or about which I was not quite sure before. Of these, the four lebetes gamikoi (B.M. F 89 and old no. 1300, Louvre K 392–3) go very closely with the Brunswick krater (*CVA*, pl. 43, 1) and the cup from Caivano (*PP*, fig. 55); the four neck-amphorae, Madrid 11253, 11255, 11256, Geneva I 13 (here Pl. XVI*a*), also stand very close together and to Madrid 11402 and 11500. All have similar florals, usually with a dot-triangle in the centre, as on the vase here illustrated.

Whether the Caivano Painter himself was a Paestan is open to serious question. Almost all his vases have been found in Campania, and his use of a pale buffish clay, together with his choice of floral patterns, argues in favour of his being a Campanian. Characteristic of the decoration on his vases, especially the minor ones, is the use of a single palmette leaf rising from a calyx, long locks of hair rendered by a series of individual dots, a *cista* with diagonal divisions each decorated with a solid triangle, a multitude of fine fold-lines, especially at the girdle, and the extensive employment of added purple-red, as well as of black and white dots, the latter especially on rock-piles. All these features, with slight modifications, may also be seen in the works of the Painter of Naples 1778 (cf. Naples 1778, 2583, 1784, 1788; *PP*, pls. XXXIV–XXXV) and the stylistic connexion between him and the Caivano Painter is too close to think of them as working far apart. But the style of the Painter of Naples 1778, many of whose vases actually come from Paestum itself, or the near vicinity, shows also a strong Paestan influence, especially that of Python in his latest phase and the Boston Orestes Painter, visible in his use of framing palmettes, the youths on his reverses, and his general manner of composition, and he is certainly to be classed as a pure Paestan. Although proveniences (see p. 43) would indicate that the Caivano Painter worked in Campania, none the less, in view of his close association with and influence on the Painter of Naples 1778, it is not altogether out of place to retain his work in our catalogue.

Beazley (*loc. cit.*) notes a few other pieces as very near to the Caivano Painter, including a lekythos in Capua (*CVA*, pls. 46, 12 and 14), which, although it seems to me exceedingly close in style, I still cannot quite accept as actually belonging to this group. Another important piece is the hydria in Karlsruhe (350; *JdI* 42, 180; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pl. 12, 1), which, however, is of a deep red clay and is perhaps nearer to true Campanian in style. Somewhere near to it, though the clay is pale, is a bell-krater in the B.M. (F 63) with: (*a*) woman between youth and Eros; (*b*) two draped youths.

[23] For the subject and other representations of it see also Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, pp. 40 ff.

[24] There is one subtraction. The bail-amphora Madrid 11479 (*PP*, no. 288) is Campanian, by the CA Painter.

Also near are the following:—

Hydriai

1. B.M. F 363. Young satyr carrying a wine amphora. Very close to the satyr on the Capua lekythos.

2. Naples, Spinelli 338. Woman chasing a swan. Here the clay is the characteristic Caivano shade, the shoulder decoration consists of a laurel wreath with white sprays meeting in a central flower, the flesh of the woman and the swan is in added white, and the drapery is patterned with a light vertical stripe of double dots, as regularly on vases of this group.

3. Naples, Spinelli 190. Warrior with spear and shield. Here the clay is covered with a rich red wash, giving it the effect of the Karlsruhe hydria: the warrior is very strongly reminiscent of those on some of the larger Caivano vases.

Squat Lekythos

4. B.M. F 113. Seated woman and standing youth.

5. Berkeley, University of California 8/4187. Eros and standing woman. Surface badly worn and upper part of vase missing. Somewhere also in this vicinity must stand the bell-krater once Hope 323 (Tillyard, pl. 43, 1), which looks very similar in style to Caivano–Naples 1778 vases.

These vases I should incline to class as Campanian, noting their close affinity to the Caivano style and also, especially in regard to the subsidiary figures, to some of the skyphoi listed by Beazley on pp. 84–5, the youths on the reverses of which in turn link up with that on Oxford 459 (Beazley, fig. 9). They all go to prove the close interrelationship between the Paestan and Campanian styles at the time.

IV. The Period of Decadence

On late Paestan there is fortunately little more to be said. The new vases come mostly from recent excavations in the vicinity of Paestum but add almost nothing to our knowledge of the final stage in the history of its r.f. pottery. One curious piece is perhaps worth a passing note. This is a large bell-krater in the Pennsylvania University Museum (Pl. XVI*d*) of the same shape as Louvre K 265, which, were it not for the Paestan framing palmettes, one might almost be tempted to regard as Apulian. The clay is a rich dark brown and the vase has been broken across the top and restored with some repainting, which unfortunately affects the faces of the figures upon it. On the obverse is a flying Eros with a fan in his right hand and a wreath in his left; below him to the left is a large speckled bird, which looks up with an expectant air. The other side represents a woman with a ball and a dish of cakes moving to left and looking back to right. On both sides a bunch of grapes is used to supply a decorative touch above the figures. The woman is more Apulian in style than any other figure on a Paestan vase, and the effeminate Eros would also seem to be more at home on a vase of that fabric, though somewhat similar figures occur on kraters by the Painter of Naples 2585 (e.g. Berlin F 3052–3, Louvre K 265). The speckled bird is quite un-Apulian, being rather a descendent of those which appeared on vases of the Asteas–Python workshop, and both shape and decoration are thoroughly Paestan. The vase would therefore seem to belong to this group, perhaps nearest to the style of the Painter of Naples 2585, but to show a strong Apulianising tendency. This to a lesser extent is visible also in some of the works of that painter, and in it we may possibly see a lingering trace of the

influence of the Apulianising school in Campania,[25] which had flourished a generation or so before.

The style of the Painter of Naples 1778, as has already been mentioned, represents a combination of the influences of the Caivano Painter, of the later phases of Python's style and of the Boston Orestes Painter. His inherited fondness for colour gives his early vases a certain measure of brightness; when this has faded away, there is nothing else left to commend, and his final efforts like Vienna 103 (*PP*, pl. XXXIV*c*), Geneva I 697 (*PP*, fig. 59) or the Salerno cup (*VP*, figs. 35–6) are utterly deplorable. On some of his other late vases (e.g. Princeton 37.255) we find half-draped female figures, which recall those on certain late Campanian vases (cf. Beazley, *JHS* 1943, pp. 105–106, to whose list may be added the bottles Geneva MF 271 and Turin 4639, both with seated women, and two small squat lekythoi from Gela, Syracuse 15033–4).[26]

A similar decline, perhaps to an even more marked degree, may also be observed in the work of his contemporary, the Painter of Naples 2585, whose less colourful style is in the first instance derived from the minor vases of the Asteas Group (cp. his fondness for nude figures bending forward over an upraised leg—as on B.M. 1580 and other vases illustrated on *PP* pl. XXXV, which should be compared with Paestum 1273, here pl. XI*c*). We see the same falling off in the last stages of Campanian red-figure, in the work of the Siamese[27] and Majewski Painters, which must belong to about the same period as the latest Paestan. The weaknesses apparent in the Caivano style are now greatly exaggerated, and it is with relief that we see the fabric reach its close, probably very soon after the end of the fourth century.

[25] See Beazley, *JHS* 1943, pp. 91 f.

[26] See Trendall, 'Two skyphoid-pyxides in Moscow', *Bull. Ant. Besch.*, The Hague, 1949–51, p. 35.

[27] Beazley, *op. cit.* pp. 102–3. To the works of the Siamese Painter may be added: (i) a neck-amphora in New York (L. 1591), with (*a*) a winged figure, (*b*) a shrine (?). The female head on the neck of (*a*) associates this vase with (ii) a bail-amphora, Reading 50.5.5, (iii) a skyphos, Johns Hopkins University 4038, and (iv) a lekane-lid, Manchester IV E 14, all of which are decorated with similar heads. Also (v) a bail-amphora in the Fienga Collection at Nocera dei Pagani with (*a*) warrior, and on the neck a female head, and (vi) a bell-krater in the Melbourne National Gallery with (*a*) Hermes and a woman, (*b*) two women. By the same hand as B.M. F 492 (which has 21 heads on the obverse, a row of twelve over one of nine) is a bell-krater in Naples (H. 925; inv. 82595) with (*a*) six female heads, (*b*) female head.

GENERAL SURVEY

The recent discoveries in and around Paestum have added greatly to the list of known proveniences, which I republish below with the necessary corrections, quoting the vases by their numbers in the catalogue, on pp. 3–22 above.

Paestum and vicinity

Paestum (including the Spinazzo necropolis): 39, 40, 42, 53, 62, 89, 124, 125, 132, 139, 205, 206, 235, 239, 242, 243, 248, 249, 250, 251, 269, 274, 303, 304, 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 380, 408, 414, 415, 417, 423, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 440, 445, 446, 447, 448, 450, 455, 498, 504, 505, 506, 507, 513, 514, 518, 520. [56]
Arenosola: 214, 253, 412, 439, 510. [5]
Altavilla: 79, 254, 296. [3]
Buccino: 38. [1]
Foce del Sele: 140. [1]
Oliveto Citra: 215, 222, 410, 411, 422, 425, 519. [7]
Pontecagnano: 80, 141, 199, 212, 213, 216, 230, 232, 245, 260, 268, 286–293, 438, 477. [21]
Salerno: 143 (Pertosa), 208, 265. [3]
Total number of vases found = 97.

Apulia

Arpi: 101. [1]
Bari: 8, 93, 324, 494. [4]
Bitonto: 218. [1]
Egnatia: 160. [1]
Fasano: 328. [1]
Rugge: 94. [1]
Ruvo: 123, 219. [2]
Taranto: 43, 85, 194. [3]
Total number of vases found in Apulia = 14.

Campania

Abella: 105, 113, 283, 458. [4]
Bacoli: 369. [1]
Baiae: 362. [1]
Caivano: 368, 373, 375, 376, 390, 391, 404. [7]
Calvi: 306, 370. [2]
Capua: 24, 168, 364, 365, 366, 367, 371, 372, 394, 405. [10]
Castelcapuano: 15, 18. [2]
Cumae: 9, 181, 305, 350, 378, 394, 497. [7]
Frignano: 363, 374, 400. [3]
Nola: 27, 29, 30, 31, 102, 144, 351, 355, 521. [9]
S. Agata: 37, 41, 146, 155, 195, 330. [6]
Total number of vases found in Campania = 52.

Lucania, Sicily and elsewhere

Anzi: 431, 465. [2]
Basilicata: 489. [1]
Locri: 34. [1]
Viterbo: 28. [1]
Sicily: Gela—56.
Lipari—11, 32.
Palazzuolo—2.
Syracuse (Fusco)—1, 6, 7.
Syracuse (Epipoli)—60.
General—25, 181, 198. [11]
Total number of vases found = 16.

Vases from Paestum and vicinity	97.
Vases from elsewhere	82.
Total vases of known provenience	179.

This may be represented graphically as follows:—

Provenience	I. Early Paestan, nos. 1–36	II. Workshop of Asteas and Python, nos. 37–329	III. Transitional, nos. 330–405	IV. Late Paestan, nos. 406–523
Paestum		×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××××××××× [29]	× [1]	×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××××× [26]
Vicinity of Paestum		×××××××××× ×××××××××× ×××××××××× × [31]		×××××××××× [10]
Campania	××××××××× [8]	×××××××××× ×××× [14]	×××××××××× ×××××××××× ××××××× [27]	××× [3]
Apulia	× [1]	×××××××××× ×× [12]		× [1]
Lucania				××× [3]
Sicily	××××××× [7]	×××× [4]		
Elsewhere	×× [2]			

From the revised figures it will be seen that now well over half the known provenances can be assigned to Paestum and its immediate vicinity, and as the excavations in that area proceed I have no doubt that the proportion will steadily increase. The graph is of interest as showing the preponderance of Campanian provenances in early Paestan and in the Caivano Group of the transitional period. The difficulties in definitely ascribing either of these groups to Paestum have already been mentioned; stylistically, however, they seem best left in their present context, at least for the time being, as their

close relationship to Paestan is obvious. Paestan vases are not infrequently included under the general classification of Lucanian; geographically, I suppose, this might be admissible, but in point of style they bear almost no relation at all to vases of that fabric, and would be more properly classed as Campanian, though I think it best to keep them separate in view of their individual characteristics. The recent finds all tend to confirm Paestum as their place of origin, which would now seem to be beyond reasonable doubt.

The fabric of Paestum is so highly compact that it seems unlikely there was more than one main workshop in the city. Asteas and his associates established the stylistic canon for Paestan, taking as their model the style of the Dirce Painter and his followers; thereafter the tradition remains unbroken till the end, undergoing only slight modifications as the result of outside influences, mainly from Campania. This applies to shape, decoration and to choice of subjects, in which the repertory is very limited, hardly even extending to the heroön or stele scenes so popular on Apulian and Campanian vases.

The new finds have unfortunately failed so far to provide us with any data that might help to establish an absolute chronology for the pottery. In its absence we are thrown back upon stylistic criteria and the relationships with other Italiote fabrics, especially Campanian. In my opinion we can trace four main generations of Paestan artists, corresponding to the four main sections into which I have divided the pottery, and, allowing for a certain measure of overlapping, this might reasonably give the fabric a life of about a century or a little less. Stylistic evidence points to a date not far from 380 B.C. for the earliest work of the Dirce Group and I see no reason to suppose that the latest phase continued for any length of time into the third century, red-figured pottery having probably flickered to its almost barbaric close in both Campania and Paestum some time before the Roman conquest in 273.

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A. D. TRENDALL

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1	1	59	73	116	151	173	221	231	142	289	379	347	465
2	2	60	74	117	153	174	223	232	320	290	380	348	467
3	3	61	75	118	155	175	224	233	322	291	381	349	468
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8	9	66	100	123	70	180	237	238	327	296	409	354	473
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13	12	71	103	128	175	185	246	243	332	301	404	359	257
14	20	72	104	129	152	186	248	244	334	302	417	360	258
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24	30	82	112	138	172	196	128	254	345	312	429	370	487
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31	37	89	118	145	188	203	275	261	354	319	435	377	497
32	38	90	119	146	189	204	276	262	355	320	436	378	214
33	39	91	120	147	190	205	277	263	132	321	510	379	412
34	40	92	121	148	191	206	278	264	356	322	511	380	498
35	45	93	122	149	192	207	279	265	357	323	439	381	500
36	46	94	81	150	193	208	281	266	358	324	441	382	501
37	41	95	82	151	194	209	283	267	359	325	398	383	502
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39	77	97	85	153	196	211	295	269	362	327	437	385	235
40	48	98	83	154	197	212	297	270	364	328	443	386	425
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42	50	100	131	156	200	214	299	272	366	330	446	388	507
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THE EARLY COLONISATION OF CISALPINE GAUL*

ROME first penetrated into the plain of the Po in 268, when, after the Senones had been defeated and the tribe exterminated, a Latin colony, Ariminum, was founded in their former territory (Livy, *Per.* XV; Vell. I, 14). For many years Ariminum remained only a defensive bastion of Roman rule, closing the gap between the Apennines and the sea, and thus denying entrance to Picenum and Umbria from the north.[1] It was later that the role of Ariminum was changed into that of a springboard for the offensives that subdued the Po country. This development was at once made possible and probable, however, by the location of the colony and the orientation of its *territorium*.

The original size of the colony is open to dispute.[2] What is more important for our purposes is to attempt to determine its extent to the north and the west; to know how far it stretched into the Aemilian plain. On the south the boundary was the Crustumius (*CIL* XI, p. 77; Pliny, *HN* III, 115). On the north, the boundary with Ravenna and then with Caesena was certainly the Rubicon in the late Republic and afterwards. At the time of foundation, however, there was probably a greater area under the administration of Ariminum, but perhaps not settled by colonists. The great Umbrian commune of Sarsina had formerly exercised a wide dominion,[3] and land taken from it was assigned to the colony. Its early *territorium* may have extended as far as the later Forum Popili, thus including land that was to form the independent *municipium* of Caesena.[4] Whether the jurisdiction of Ariminum reached beyond the Rubicon or not, the foundation of this colony was an appreciable advance towards dominion of the Aemilian plain. In this connection it should be remembered that the existence of Gallic and Etruscan towns all along the foothills of the Apennines proves that there was already an important highway leading down from the Po. Ariminum was at the end of this line of communications and had, therefore, economic as well as strategic importance.

In 218 [5] two further Latin colonies were founded, Placentia and Cremona (Livy, *Per.* XX; Vell. I, 14). Their military purpose is evident. They were extensive and

* At the outset I would like to express my thanks for help and encouragement to Professor Fraccaro and the University of Pavia, and to Mrs. Henderson and Dr. Chilver of Oxford. To work in Pavia with Professor Fraccaro is an exciting privilege, for which I count myself particularly fortunate. I have much enjoyed Dr. Chilver's helpful friendliness in advice and in disagreement. I am most grateful to him for the attention he has given my work and the many clarifications and improvements he has suggested.

[1] All pre-Gracchan colonisation, both citizen and Latin, was military in design (see particularly E. T. Salmon, *JRS*, XXVI, 1936, p. 47, and A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford, 1939, pp. 72 ff.), and Ariminum was no exception (see Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, I, p. 59). It is at the time of the Gracchi that special conditions were introduced for the setting-up of Latin colonies. Their members could no longer obtain Roman citizenship by registering residence at Rome. The change was made for the benefit of the colonies themselves, to prevent the reduction of their manpower.

[2] Beloch (*Ital. Bund.*, p. 143) gives the area as 250 square miles. Tenney Frank (*op. cit.*, p. 60) accepts this, and suggests that the number of colonists may have been 4,000.

[3] Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde*, II, 1902, p. 378) gives it an extension from the Aemilian plain southwards as far as the Metaurus. See G. A. Mansuelli, *Ariminum* (*Italia romana: municipi e colonie*, I, vi), Rome, 1941, p. 115; Alessandri, *I municipi romani di Sarsina e Mevaniola*, Milan, 1928.

[4] Mansuelli, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[5] It is not proposed to enter here into the events of the wars by which Rome advanced from Ariminum, the bridgehead, to the conquest of all the Cisalpine country, except in so far as these details affect the dating of the establishment of Roman colonies and settlements there.

populous colonies,[6] forming a second defensive block, which stretched from the foothills of the Apennines to those of the Alps, and was protected on the flank by the friendliness of the Veneti and of the Etrusci of Mantua. Placentia was probably first founded some fifteen miles to the west of its later site.[7] Thus, with Clastidium as an advanced post, it guarded the narrowest part of the Stradella gap. Cremona was rather a bridgehead for offensives over the Po—offensives that were probably planned at Rome before the Hannibalic War, and afterwards had to be accompanied by the consolidation of the country behind, hastily conquered and insufficiently pacified.

Behind these colonies of Placentia and Cremona lay the ancient road down to Ariminum, the first block. The safety of communications was guaranteed by constant troop movements and the presence of permanent garrisons in some of the towns. Let us take the example of Mutina, which seems to have been already walled in 218 ('intactis adsideret muris', Livy XXI, 25; Polyb. III, 40). This fact, and the phrase of Polybius 'ἀποικίαν ὑπαρχοῦσαν Ῥωμαίων' have been taken by some scholars to prove that a Latin colony had already been sent there, and that the colonisation of 183 B.C. was only a reinforcement.[8] Not only is this without foundation in the text of Livy, but his account of the colonisation reads 'in agro, qui proxime Boiorum, ante Tuscorum, fuerat' (XXXIX, 55). This can hardly be reconciled with the idea of a previous Roman foundation. Cavedoni,[9] who pointed this out, thought that Polybius' phrase was to be referred to his own time. This seems too artificial a solution, and we should accept the view that there was a Roman garrison of some sort in the important walled town in 218, without, however, conceding that there was a regular colony. For the foundation of a colony was necessarily accompanied by the distribution of *ager*, and this, as the passage in Livy shews, did not take place before 183. Before the Hannibalic War, then, there was almost certainly a Roman military garrison in Mutina, and this is enough to justify Polybius' use of the word 'ἀποικία'. It may have been the intention, before the war, to follow military occupation with full colonisation.

Besides Mutina there were the towns and villages of Parma,[10] Caesena, Tannetum (Livy XXI, 25; Polyb. III, 40, 13), Claterna, Bononia and certainly others of which the names have been obscured by those of the later Roman foundations on the same sites.[11] At the outbreak of the war, therefore, Rome controlled the Aemilian plain from Ariminum and from centres on the main highway. She had friendly relations with the peoples in the plains of Venetia, and was in a position to check inroads from the Galli and the Ligures by means of the colonies of Placentia and Cremona, with the bastion of

[6] 6000 colonists went to each (Polyb. III, 40).

[7] See Tenney Frank, 'Placentia and the battle of the Trebia', *JRS*, IX, 1919, p. 202. With the colony here, the descriptions of this battle in Polybius and Livy make sense. On this theory we can also explain why the territorium of Placentia stretched so far to the west, and why there is a break in its centuriation at the Trebia.

[8] See G. Mancini, 'Le colonie ed i municipi romani dell'Emilia occidentale', *Emilia romana*, II, Firenze, 1944, p. 68.

[9] *Antichi marmi modenesi*, Modena, 1829, p. 8.

[10] There is much controversy about the origin of the name Parma, but it is more likely to have been Etruscan than to have been given by the Romans. In any event there was pre-Roman settlement on a *terramara* to the east of the Roman town, where indeed the first colonial settlement may have been made. See E. Pais, *Storia crit. di Roma*, III, p. 256; R. Andreotti, 'Intorno ai primordi ed allo sviluppo di Parma nell'antichità', *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LVI, 1928, p. 254; M. Corradi-Cervi, 'Nuovi contributi alla topografia di Parma romana imperiale', *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, 3rd series, I, 1938, pp. 5–24.

[11] Compare the case of Faventia. The centre was probably not given this name before 173 B.C., at the earliest, but Silius Italicus (VIII, 595) speaks of the part played by the Faventines in the Hannibalic War. As, however, in the same passage he mentions Pollentia (certainly not founded before 173, and perhaps not before 100 B.C.) and Aquileia (founded in 181, on a site where previously there was no community), the accuracy of his information is open to doubt.

Clastidium, of great strategic importance, overlooking the Lombard plain and standing on the route into the heart of Liguria.[12]

In the first few years after the war the dominating motive was the provision of an adequate defensive system for the Aemilian plain. It had been shewn that the loss of this was of much more than local importance. It had been shewn also that Rome could not rely on a few scattered colonial foundations, but that she must evolve a much more closely-knit military organisation in the region.

Roman armies were sent across the Po and defeated the Cenomani and the Insubres (Livy XXXII, 29 ff.); these campaigns were not aimed at conquest, but were a demonstration of Roman power. Thus they were followed by alliance with the peoples, and probably not accompanied by any confiscation of land. Later, repeated trouble with the Salassi led to Rome taking their lowland territory and founding Eporedia,[13] but until then the only Transpadane colonies appear to have been Cremona and Aquileia. On the other hand, there may have been peaceful penetration into the Transpadane country, and individual Romans may have settled there and become considerable land-owners.[14]

The re-imposition of Roman power north of the Po was followed by its consolidation in Aemilia. Here military action was far more drastic, and according to ancient authors the Boii were practically exterminated or expelled (Livy XXXVI, 39 ff.; Pliny, *HN* III, 116; Strabo, V, 213). The colonies of Placentia and Cremona were reinforced in 190 (Livy XXXVII, 46),[15] and in the same year there was a proposal that two further Latin colonies should be founded. One of these was certainly Bononia, founded in 189 (Livy XXXVII, 57); where should the other be located? Some scholars have supposed it to be Parma;[16] but this was a Roman colony, founded seven years later, in conjunction with Mutina. Others[17] have supposed it to be Brixellum. There is no positive evidence for this identification,[18] and nothing can be deduced from the 'general probability' of the Romans securing a Po crossing here. The determining factor against such an identification would seem to be the answer to the question whether an early road ran from the Forum Regium Lepidum to Brixellum. It is entirely probable that the *forum*, founded by M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 187, cos. II 175), was the starting point of a road; and this road may have been the 'second' via Aemilia,[19] or a minor road only. In either case, however, the date of road and *forum* must be the same,[20]

[12] The fort was first occupied by C. Flaminius in 223. In 197 it was destroyed, and though rebuilt, gradually lost its old importance, particularly with the rise of Dertona and Iria. An emporium grew up on the road below the old fort, but not even the emporium figures in the itineraries of the empire. The centre was never independent (*CIL* V. 2, 7357: 'colleg. centonar. Placent. consistent. Clastidi'). See M. Baratta, *Clastidium* (*Biblioteca della società pavese di storia patria*, n. 3), Pavia, 1932.

[13] See below, p. 70.

[14] Compare the early evidence of Polybius, who had seen the Gauls (II, 35) 'μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον . . . . . αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων ἐξωσθέντας, πλὴν ὀλίγων τόπων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Ἄλπεις κειμένων . . . . .'

[15] 6,000 colonists were sent to the two colonies together. M. Corradi-Cervi erroneously states (*Istituzioni e personaggi piacentini del tempo romano*, Piacenza, 1940, p. 3) that 6,000 were sent to *each* city; this mistake does not occur in Corradi-Cervi and Rocca, *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, 3rd series, I, 1938, pp. 45 ff. On the reinforcement of Placentia see below, p. 57.

[16] Cluverius, *Ital. antiq.*, p. 278; Cavedoni, *Antichi marmi modenesi*, Modena, 1829, p. 9. Cluverius used this as an additional argument for saying that Mutina was founded before 183, but the balance of probability lies against both these views.

[17] Chiesi, *De Tanneto et Brixello Romanorum aetate*, Reggio Emilia, 1890, p. 25; M. Corradi-Cervi, *Emilia romana*, I, Firenze, 1941, p. 48; and *Atti della società italiana per il progresso delle scienze* (Rome), XXII, 1933, iv, p. 151.

[18] Pliny calls Brixellum a colony (*HN* III, 116), but his practice seems to be to give this title only to places colonised by Augustus.

[19] G. De Sanctis (*Storia dei Romani* IV, 427) gives the date of this road as 175, and its course as Bononia–Hostilia–Patavium–Aquileia. Was Hostilia, then, the colony of 189? This is most unlikely; Tacitus (*Hist.* III, 8) calls Hostilia a 'vicus Veronensium'.

[20] See below, p. 58, and note 28.

and must surely be later than 187, when the 'first' Via Aemilia was built, and later than the foundation of Mutina and Parma. The *forum* was placed in the same tribe as these, and was designed to break the journey between them. The date of road and *forum* was, therefore, probably 175,[21] and even if we accept such an early route to Brixellum, this cannot be dated early enough to account for a Latin colony there in 189.

Tenney Frank [22] points out that the commissioners appointed for the foundation of the two Latin colonies in question were the same as those appointed for the reinforcement of Placentia and Cremona, and he suggests that they may have decided to found only one completely new colony. At the same time they did more than reinforce Placentia; they refounded it on a new site. This change, to a position east of the Trebia, was necessitated by the attacks of the Galli in 200 (Livy XXXI, 10) and the Ligures in 193 (Livy XXXIV, 56). Whether the commissioners proceeded in this way or not, it is best to deduce from the silence of Livy that only one of the two new colonies proposed in 190 was actually founded: Bononia in 189.

The following year probably saw the foundation of Forum Livi, as the most likely general to have constituted it was C. Livius Salinator, who was consul in 188 and obtained the province of Cisalpine Gaul (Livy XXXVIII, 35; *RE* XIII, 1, 890).[23] This *forum* was an independent centre, inscribed in the tribe Stellatina (*CIL* XI. 1, 623, 624), which was also the tribe of Mevaniola in Umbria (*CIL* XI. 2, 1, 6604, 6605). Now we shall see [24] that most of the towns on the road in Aemilia were placed in the Pollia tribe, excepting always the Latin colonies, which were not allocated to tribes until 89 B.C. This membership of the Pollia tribe dates from 173, when large stretches of land were made available for *viritim* colonisation. The still-surviving traces of centuriation based on the road give us further evidence for this settlement, and we find that between Forum Livi and Caesena there was not this centuriation. There are a very few traces, on a different orientation, in the *territorium* of Forum Popili. This again suggests that land around Forum Livi was not assigned in 173. Probably this was because the *forum* had already been built and surrounding land appropriated in 188. South-east of Forum Livi stood Forum Popili.[25] The building of this place has been ascribed to the consul M. Popilius,[26] who sold Ligurian prisoners in 171 (Livy XLII, 7–8); but the scene of this event is not given, and it is much more likely that the date was 132 B.C. when P. Popilius, the builder of the Via Popilia in southern Italy, may also have constructed the Via Popilia of Venetia. This road is dated by a milestone from Adria (*CIL* V. 2, 8007, mentioning *P. Popilius C. f. cos.*),[27] which is contemporary with one from Polla (*CIL* X. 1, 6950), securely dated to 132. The Via Popilia of Venetia is generally assumed to have started at Ariminum, but, perhaps because of bad ground conditions, it may originally have had to run farther west. It seems probable, therefore, that Forum Popili, like most other *fora*, was intimately connected with

[21] Strabo (V, 217) describes Lepidus as building a road from Ariminum to Bononia and Aquileia, and as doing this in 187, when Gaius Flaminius was his colleague and was building the Via Flaminia. His account seems to confuse two stages in Lepidus' road-making activities.

[22] *Op. cit.*

[23] See A. Solari, 'I centri emiliani della tribù Stellatina' (from *Historia*, 1927, 4), p. 3; Reggiani, 'Contributo allo studio di Forlì romana', *Emilia romana* II, p. 218.

[24] See p. 61.

[25] This was independent at some stage, for it is mentioned by Pliny (*HN* III. 116), had VIviri (*CIL* XI. 1, 573, 574) and was later a diocese.

[26] Since the time of Vecchiazzani, *Historia di Forlimpopoli*, Rimini, 1647. See the authors quoted by Parmeggiani (*Forum Popili*, Perugia, 1909), who rejects this view.

[27] See Mommsen, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge X, p. 141.

road-building.[28] We have no reliable evidence for its tribe.[29] Next, between Forum Popili and Ariminum, was Caesena. It would be most natural to suppose that land here was originally under the control of Ariminum or Forum Livi, and that, when the *forum* was founded, all land between it and the colony was assigned to one or other of the two places. But there are inscriptions (*CIL* VI, 13935–6) suggesting Caesena was in the Pollia tribe. In that case, land was assigned here too in 173.

It seems, therefore, that Forum Livi was founded in 188 as a defensive bastion covering Ariminum and protecting communications. At least the immediate environs of the place must have been regarded as its territory and as not available for settlement in 173. It was left undisturbed by the *viritim* colonisation and was not placed in the tribe Pollia. The problem of Forum Popili remains. Without knowing to which tribe it belonged we cannot trace the course of its history more exactly.

There is another interesting question. Why was Forum Livi placed in the Stellatina tribe? It was probably not so allotted until 89 (before which date the many Roman citizens in the Forum belonged to various tribes), and the choice of tribe was probably dictated by the long-established connection between Forum Livi and Mevaniola, in Umbria, which was also placed in the Stellatina, in or after 89.[30] We may demonstrate this connection in the investigation of a related problem, that of a road to be associated with Forum Livi. In later times the best known road over the Apennines in these parts was that which ran from Faventia to Florentia in the Arno valley (Antonine itinerary).[31] But there may have been another early route. Medri [32] speaks of the route, which ran by Castel dell'Alpe, 'in the basin of a river-system more properly regarded as opening onto the territory of Forum Livi than that of Faventia'.[33] If we look at the *Edizione Archeologica della Carta d'Italia al 100,000* (R. Istituto Geografico Militare, Firenze, 1932), sheets 99 and 100, we find a wealth of archaeological material in the Rabbi valley, and even more in that of the Montone—remains much more prolific than those on the course of the Faventia–Florentia road. It should be noted also that there are pre-Roman remains on this route—evidence for the early communication between Mevaniola and the Aemilian plain.[34]

It was as a result of this connection between the two places that both were placed

[28] Certain examples of this relationship in Cisalpine Gaul are Forum Iulium Carnicum, Forum Iulium Iriensium, Forum Iuli Transpadanorum; probable examples are Forum Fulvi (see p. 67), Forum Lepidi Regii (see p. 59), Forum Popili, Forum Livi (see below, p. 58), Forum Clodi (see p. 64), one or possibly both Fora Licini (see p. 65) and Forum Vibi. The only two 'Fora' that have no obvious connection with road-building are Forum Corneli, from which a road may have led into the Apennines, and Forum Druentinorum, of which the site and the history are uncertain.

[29] But see Solari, *op. cit.*, p. 6, quoting Pieri, *Topografia della valle dell'Arno*, p. 135.

[30] *CIL* XI. 2, 6604, 6605. We may also notice the fact that the Stellatina tribe was used elsewhere in Umbria (Urvinum Mataurense, Urvinum Hortense; *CIL* XI. 2. 1, 6053–4, 6056–9, 6060–3; and 5175, 5178).

[31] See A. Solari, 'Sull'antichità della via Faventia-Luca', *Athenaeum*, N.S. VI, 1928, p. 157.

[32] In *Nuovo Piccolo*, Faenza, 1927, numbers of Feb. 6th and 13th.

[33] R. Andreotti ('Il percorso dell'antica via Faentina', *Historia*, 1927, 2, p. 155) says: 'there is a tradition, perhaps genuine, which Metelli records, that the Empress Galla Placidia and her son Valentinianus crossed by the Regina pass, a place near Monte Sacco where there are remains of a road. This may be explained by the fact that in the time of the barbarian invasions it was not very safe to travel by the good, well-known roads, and that a new route was probably opened up through less accessible and more remote parts.' It is just as likely that old roads which had fallen into disuse were used again in the troubled times of the late empire.

[34] There is also evidence for a road in later times connecting Arretium and Ravenna. It is mentioned in 'La vita di S. Ellero', and may have run down the Bidente valley to the south-east of Forlì (see *Not. Scav.* 1943, p. 216). This road seems to have passed by Galeata near Mevaniola. Archaeological remains in the valley are few, however, apart from those at Meldola of the aqueduct that took water to Ravenna. It may only have been after the construction of this aqueduct that the Bidente route acquired any importance.

in the Stellatina tribe in 89, or, alternatively, that Mevaniola was attributed to Forum Livi, and later, on gaining full rights, was placed in the same tribe as the place that had had jurisdiction over it.

In 187 the consolidation and improvement of the old highway, which now became the Via Aemilia, marked a further step in facilitating Roman control of the area. In the same year C. Flaminius built a road from Bononia to Arretium (Livy XXXIX, 2).

Four years later the Roman colonies of Mutina and Parma were founded. Salmon[35] has shewn the reason for the practice of sending out settlers to citizen colonies rather than to Latin ones, which began at this time. There was a difference of opinion in the case of Aquileia (Livy XXXIX, 55; XL, 34), which was founded as a Latin colony in 181, probably because of its remoteness from the centre of political life at Rome. As Salmon points out, the reluctance of Romans to go to Latin colonies (which was responsible for the change in general policy) had to be outweighed by the grant of very large plots of land at Aquileia.

One further centre needs discussion before we pass on to the *viritim* grants of land mentioned in Livy XLII, 4. This is Regium Lepidum. Above [36] it was assumed that this was founded by M. Aemilius Lepidus, and no serious rival has been put forward by ancient or modern authors. Festus (p. 270) saying 'in Gallia Cisalpina, ubi Forum Lepidi fuerat, Regium vocatur' gives us the *forum's* original name. 'Regius' was probably the cognomen given to Aemilius Lepidus because he was tutor to Ptolemy V.[37] We have already suggested that the inclusion of the *forum* in the tribe Pollia and its obvious function of providing a station between Mutina and Parma make it more probable that it was founded in Lepidus' second consulate, that is in 175 rather than in 187.[38]

The customary way in which the Romans disposed of the land of conquered peoples was its settlement by their own citizens. It is not surprising that in the year 173, according to Livy (XLII, 4) 'cum agri Ligustini et Gallici quod captum erat aliquantum vacaret, senatus consultum factum, ut is ager viritim divideretur. Decemviros in eam rem creavit A. Atilius praetor urbanus . . . Diviserunt dena iugera in singulos, sociis nominis Latini terna.' Having noted the distinction made here between the two classes of settlers, a distinction in accordance with previous trends in policy, we may pass on to a consideration of where this land lay.[39]

[35] *loc. cit.*

[36] See p. 56 and also M. Corradi-Cervi, *Emilia romana*, II, p. 47 and O. Siliprandi, *Scavi archeologici avvenuti nella provincia di Reggio Emilia nell'ultimo cinquantennio*, Reggio Emilia, 1936, p. 93.

[37] See *RE* I, 552; A. Solari, 'Sulle origini di alcuni centri dell'Emilia occidentale', *Historia*, 1928, 4, p. 556; R. Andreotti, 'Due centri dell'Emilia occidentale', *Historia*, 1929, 3, p. 466; H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics* 220–150 B.C., Oxford, p. 287.

[38] Probably, like most other *fora*, this centre was independent from the time of its foundation. Ptolemy (III, 1, 42) calls it a colony. Corradi-Cervi, disagreeing with Andreotti, thinks this title should be referred to Parma, the previous name on Ptolemy's list, but in fact the designation κολωνία comes after both Parma and Regium Lepidum. As Siliprandi points out, signs of the centuriation of the *ager* are lacking in this part, which is further evidence against the view that a colony was sent there. It may be that other communities on the south-west and north-east very much restricted the area free for Roman colonisation. Not much importance need be attached to the words of Ptolemy, in the absence of confirmation. He calls the following towns in Cisalpine Gaul colonies: Concordia, Aquileia, Cremona, Augusta Praetoria, Hasta, Parma, Regium Lepidum, Tergeste, and Forum Iulium (perhaps a mistake for Iulium Carnicum, which certainly was a colony, and to which the description of being an inland town of the Carni seems more applicable). This list certainly omits many undoubted colonies, and no reliance can be placed on it.

[39] G. De Sanctis (*Storia dei Romani*, Torino, 1923, IV, 1, p. 424) gives an excellent brief account of this *viritim* colonisation; only the passage in italics needs securer evidential support: 'Il restante si venne *a grado a grado ed anche in grosse porzioni alla volta* assegnando viritanamente a cittadini e talvolta anche a soci che pare finissero poi col confondersi coi cittadini. Spontaneamente o a cura dei magistrati che provvidero alle assegnazioni viritane i cittadini ivi stabiliti si diedero centri per tenere i mercati, e deliberare degli interessi comuni, i conciliaboli e fori. I quali nella Gallia Cisalpina, a tanta distanza

The large group of towns in the Pollia tribe in Cisalpine Gaul is at once marked off from the rest, and the uniqueness of their common tribe-membership means that they must have acquired the citizenship at a different time from the others. The date must, further, be placed before 89 B.C., when the Latin colonies were raised in status, since they were allocated to a variety of tribes. In fact, the one year for which we have evidence for ascribing the settlement of the bulk of these towns is 173. Afterwards some new foundations may have been added (Eporedia is the one certain example); we should, however, place the settlements in general in 173, and examine critically any suggestion of a later date in particular cases. This dating allows us to give the most natural interpretation to the words 'ager Ligustinus et Gallicus'. We have talked above about the 'towns' in the Pollia tribe; strictly we should, for this early period, confine ourselves to talking about the '*ager*'. It was the *ager* that was ascribed to the tribe, the *ager* that was divided among Romans and Latins, and the possession of *ager*, not the domicile in a particular town, that meant the individual was a citizen.[40] The towns were sometimes there already to act as market centres and places of discussion, and sometimes they developed gradually to meet the needs of the settlers. It was probably not until 89, or even 49, that the town became the real controller of the surrounding *ager*, and all its inhabitants Roman citizens.[41]

Why did Rome allow these towns to grow up thus, haphazard, instead of dividing the whole area into colonies, each thoroughly organised from the start? The answer lies in past history. Colonies had always been founded for military reasons, and the tradition did not end until the time of the Gracchi. This settlement, on the other hand, was not made for purposes of defence, it was simply the natural Roman procedure for dealing with land left empty after conquest. Therefore the distribution was *viritim*, and not by means of colonisation. The lots were very small, but devastation in the Hannibalic War may have been driving many families north to seek a living on more profitable soil. The region thus assigned in 173 falls into two parts, and, as their problems for the historian are very different, it will be convenient to take the two separately.[42]

da Roma, godettero d'una maggiore autonomia che non altrove e anche d'una tal quale giurisdizione; ciò che preparò la loro trasformazione, avvenuta più tardi, in comuni.'

[40] That is to say, all inhabitants of this *ager* who were Roman citizens were in the Pollia tribe. Citizens who lived in the district, but did not possess *ager*, were probably in other tribes according to their origin; non-citizens who settled on the land were placed in the Pollia tribe when they acquired citizenship.

[41] This is not to deny that travelling magistrates may have exercised control in some judicial matters, or that officials in the Roman colonies of Mutina and Parma may have had some powers over these areas. Doubtless also rudimentary municipal organisations developed, whether by law or custom.

[42] There is no similar settlement north of the Po (the official foundations of Cremona, Aquileia and Eporedia do not count). An attempt has been made (see the discussion in Zanon, *Romanità del territorio cittadellese*, Parma, 1907, p. 53) to shew that the Romans settled Ligurians at Acelum in 172. This is based solely on Livy XLII, 22, and on the clear traces of centuriation to the south of Asolo in Venetia. This centuriation is orientated to the Via Postumia, built in 148, and can hardly be older than this road (see P. Fraccaro, 'Intorno ai confini e alla centuriazione degli agri di Patavium e di Acelum', in *Studi di antichità classica offerti a Emanuele Ciceri*, 1940, p. 1). Perpendicular to the Via Postumia runs the Via Aurelia. This regularity suggests that the centuriation was anterior to, or contemporaneous with, the building of the Via Aurelia. But we cannot push back the date of the centuriation, because we do not know when the road was built, and its name suggests an imperial origin. It is indeed unlikely that Ligures were settled in 172 or at any period in the Republic among friendly Veneti. Probably the settlements were made further to the west. It is also unlikely that they were accompanied by centuriation, a device for Roman settlement.

Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde*, II, p. 164) suggests that Caburrum, north of the Po, was founded in 179 by Fulvius Flaccus, and was in the Pollia tribe, already (after 183) adopted as the tribe for Cisalpine Gaul. There are two Pollia inscriptions from the place, but they may easily be strays from one of the Pollia towns south of the Po. Forum Vibi was in the Stellatina, and Nissen suggests that this centre later had the supremacy over Caburrum. But it is hard to explain the change of tribe.

Some scholars seem to regard the political development of Aemilia as one of decentralisation, with centres such as Fidentia, Regium Lepidum, Forum Corneli, Faventia, Forum Livi and so on, gaining importance and independence at the expense of Parma, Bononia, Claterna, Mevaniola.[43] But it is not agreed to which of the categories some of these places should be assigned, and the theory reaches impossible absurdities when Solari [44] hints that an inscription from Forli (*CIL* XI. 1, 608), which mentions the tribe Lemonia, is a proof of the widespread dominance of Bononia (which cannot, of course, be reconciled with the dominance of Claterna and of Mevaniola also). The truth is that all the Roman settlements were made in strictly defined regions of allocated *ager*; there was no rudimentary system of *attributio*; the parts outside the colonial *ager* were controlled directly by Rome, or left in the hands of allied peoples. And although before the Roman reorganisation individual towns may have enjoyed fairly extensive rule, certainly in 173 their curtailment and circumscription, if not their complete transformation into wholly Roman centres (for the complete defeat of the Boii must have left only a very small Gallic population in these towns on the Via Aemilia), resulted at once in a much greater decentralisation. But after 173 the opposite process towards urbanisation, and later centralisation, probably began to take immediate, though gradual, effect; more and more urban centres were founded, and old and new grew in importance and in the extent of their influence. One stage in this process was reached and regularised in 89, after which date there was probably no land in Aemilia left outside the direct or indirect jurisdiction of a *colonia* or a *municipium*, except for that of one or two federated peoples. Further changes may have been made in 49; others, such as the subordination of Fidentia,[45] came later still.

In examining early developments, we find that a strip of territory centred on the Via Aemilia was settled in 173, its width being determined by the varying geographical conditions on either side of the road. The chief evidence to be considered is the provenance of 'Pollia' inscriptions, and the traces of centuriation. The latter, because of its remarkable continuity, can safely be dated to one period; there may have been later colonisation, but there is no reason to deny that it made use of divisions of the land already existing.

Placentia was placed in the tribe Voturia (*CIL* XI. 1, 1241, 1244) when it obtained Roman citizenship in 89. The centuriation of the land to the east and west of the town cannot be dated with certainty, but the two areas may perhaps be assigned respectively to the times of foundation and of reinforcement of the Latin colony. The orientation to the Via Aemilia might suggest a date after 187, but it must be remembered that for much of its course the Via may have followed the old route exactly, and the centuriation may have been based on this. The orientation to the east of Placentia remains the same as far as Fonticuli, where the town's *territorium* probably ended, at least in Republican times.

Fidentia was independent in the time of Augustus (Pliny, *HN* III, 116; *CIL* XI. 1, p. 202), but can only have been a *vicus* in the *territorium* of Placentia or Parma in

[43] E. Andreoli, 'Intorno all'antichita d'Imola', *Historia*, 1928, 2, p. 336; R. Andreotti, 'Due centri romani dell' Emilia occidentale', *o.c.*, 468; P. Ducati, *Storia di Bologna* I, Bologna, 1928, p. 363; A. Solari, 'Sui limiti dell'antico territorio clatemese' *Historia*, 1928, 2, p. 194; 'Sull' antichità della via Faventia-Luca', *Athenaeum*, N.S. VI 1928, p. 164.

[44] 'I centri emiliani della tribù stellatina', *Historia*, 1927, 4, p. 6.

[45] See below.

Trajan's reign, because it is not mentioned as one of the states that then bordered on Veleia (*CIL* XI. 1, 1147 and p. 220).[46] Between the centuriated *ager* of Placentia and that of Parma there is another continuous strip, based on the Via Aemilia at Fidentia, but, because of the change of direction in the road itself, not based on it at Florentia. In this parcel of land, which had been assigned *viritim*, two centres grew up; but only one *municipium*, that of Fidentia, emerged in 89. This was in the Pollia tribe (*CIL* XI. 1, 1138).

The centuriation of Parma is of a single orientation, based to the west of the town on the Via Aemilia. To the east the road runs off at an angle to the south, but it is interesting to find the next town, Tannetum, on the line of Parma's centuriation, and thus slightly to the north of the road.[47] From this point all traces of centuriation as far as the south-eastern boundary of Bononia seem to have the same orientation. Between Tannetum and Mutina, however, there is the region around Regium Lepidum where traces are lacking.

Tannetum itself does not seem ever to have been a colony. It must have been situated on the old road running south from Parma, which was not followed here by the Via Aemilia. In spite of lying off the Roman route, however, the town became the centre of the *ager* allocated in this area in 173. Until recently there was no evidence as to the tribe of Tannetum (*CIL* XI. 1, p. 181), but an inscription giving the tribe Pollia and dating probably from the first century of the empire was recently found at Poviglio,[48] Aurigemma ascribes it to Regium Lepidum, but Corradi-Cervi [49] and Mancini [50] ascribe it to Tannetum. In fact Poviglio lies to the east of a line connecting Brixellum and Tannetum, in the midst of centuriation that must have belonged to one of these places, and cannot, therefore, have been that of Regium Lepidum. As the tribe of Brixellum was the Arnensis, this inscription would seem to belong to Tannetum. The difficulty is that, if this homogeneous stretch of centuriated land is to be assigned to Tannetum instead of to Brixellum, as for example Siliprandi [51] assumes, we have to find another site for the Augustan colonisation that Pliny shows (*HN* III, 116) to have taken place at Brixellum. The possible solutions would appear to be two. The first is to deny that land between Parma and Mutina was part of the *ager* assigned in 173, to suppose that Tannetum was a small town with a much restricted *territorium*, and to identify the *ager* of the Augustan colony at Brixellum as the centuriated land stretching south of the town to the Via Aemilia, and perhaps further encroaching on that of Tannetum; the Pollia inscription at Poviglio would, in this case, be a stray, although it may have been that of a Tannetum man.[52] The alternative solution is to ascribe this area to Tannetum, and to suppose that the *ager* of Brixellum stretched either to the east, south of the Po, or lay across the Po between that river and the Ollius. The claims of Cremona or Mantua to this area cannot be settled by reference to inscriptions (*CIL* XI. 1, p. 406). The question cannot be conclusively decided; but it seems more likely that

[46] See G. De Pachtère, *La table hypothécaire di Veleia*, Paris, 1920, p. 9.

[47] For the centuriation of this area see A. Schulten, 'Die romische Flurteilung und ihre Reste', *Abhandlungen der Kön. Gesell. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1899, N.S. II, p. 20, which is the basis of all later work.

[48] O. Siliprandi, *Scavi archeologici nella provincia di Reggio Emilia nell'ultimo cinquantennio*, Reggio Emilia, 1936, p. 59; S. Aurigemma, *Not. Scav.* 1940, 301.

[49] 'Sull'importanza di una iscrizione tannetana scoperta presso Poviglio', *Aurea Parma* XIX, 1935, 2.

[50] *Emilia romana*, II, p. 80.

[51] *Op. cit.*, 94.

[52] For a useful caution about the danger of arguing from insufficient evidence in such cases see G. E. F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul*, Oxford, 1941, p. 47.

Tannetum was in the Pollia tribe, and that here, too, some land was allocated *viritim* in 173.

Between Mutina and Bononia there is little centuriation in the vicinity of Forum Gallorum, but here there was probably no settlement in 173; the two colonies may have divided the territory between them.[53] To east and west of Bononia the centuriation is not based exactly on the Via Aemilia, simply because it was anterior to the construction of the road.

From the boundary of Claterna with Bononia, as far as Forum Livi, the centuriation is constantly based on the direct line of the Via Aemilia, although there are few traces between Claterna and Forum Corneli. The whole region was in the Pollia tribe (Claterna—*CIL* III, 6547; Forum Corneli—*CIL* XI. 1, 667, 677; Faventia—*ibid.* 629, 630, 632, 640, 651). Forum Livi, Forum Popili and Caesena have already been discussed.[54]

This strip of centuriated land is never very wide. At Placentia it extends on both sides of the Via Aemilia; by the time we reach Fidentia traces to the south of the road have disappeared. In the territories of Parma and Mutina it appears again on the south also, but in that of Bononia there is centuriation only north of the road, and from here to Ariminum traces on the south are very rare. This circumstance is dictated by the nature of the terrain. Everywhere we find that the centuriation extends as far as the Apennine foothills. As it is unlikely that it is time that has obscured the traces in the more mountainous country, we must conclude that in 173 only the more level ground was assigned. The settlers may, however, have had control over upland grazing grounds. On the north it is more difficult to determine limits because changes in physical features may have obliterated signs of Roman cultivation. The conformation of the hills has remained the same, but rivers have changed their courses, marshland has been drained, and woodland cleared. Strabo (V, 217) suggests that the Via Aemilia was built on the edge of the marshy country, and, although immediately afterwards provision was doubtless made for drainage,[55] the area available for allocation in 173 may well have been no larger than that over which we find traces of centuriation today. In some cases, for instance to the west of Bononia, changes in the river-system have destroyed traces which once existed. In other cases, for instance near Regium Lepidum, their absence cannot be explained in this way, and must be due to the fact that this part was never centuriated.

We have already suggested that the urban centres in this centuriated land were not at once given a wide dominion. It is most unlikely that the whole country, from the Apennine crest to the Po marshes, was divided into separate strips of land, each controlled by one town on the Via Aemilia. These towns, apart from the more highly-organised colonies, grew up to meet economic needs, and it was not until 89 that each was transformed into a political and juridical entity, with particular powers over a defined *territorium*.

When this consolidation and rationalisation took place, there were other centres besides those on the road that received recognition, even if this did not take the specific form of a grant of Roman or Latin rights.[56] Indeed, there were probably numbers of

[53] But see below, p. 65.
[54] See above, p. 57 ff.
[55] See Strabo, *ibid.*, for the drainage works of M. Aemilius Scaurus upstream from Parma about 109 B.C.
[56] I hope to discuss some of the problems connected with the enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul on a later occasion.

small towns or villages near the Po and in the Apennines. We find the more important of these named in Pliny (*HN* III, 116). This Plinian list is alphabetical and often gives the names of peoples rather than places. These, according to Rudi Thomsen,[57] are two signs that suggest that it comes from an Augustan census list, giving all independent *civitates* and no other urban centres. The claim that their independence of the towns on the road dates back to 89 B.C., and earlier, cannot be conclusively proved. The Apennine slopes are very poor in epigraphic material, so that we cannot by a study of inscriptions discover the tribes of any of these places except Veleia; for all we know, they may have been in the Pollia; which would suggest, though not prove, a former subjection to the other Pollia towns. Veleia, however, (where excavations have proved the accuracy of the Plinian list in one instance) was in the Galeria (*CIL* XI. 1, 1184, 1192), which is one piece of evidence on the other side.

We have so far not discussed Forum Clodi, Forum Druentinorum, Forum Licini, the Otesini, the Padinates, the Solonates, the Saltus Galliani 'qui cognominantur Aquinates' and the Urbanates. Pliny also mentions (*HN* III, 115) Butrium (see also Strabo, V, 214 and *Tab. Peut.*), but in a context that shews he may have found it only in the periplus. This was one of the sources he used to supplement the Augustan lists,[58] and it contained some places that were not independent *municipia*. Since Strabo calls it 'τῆς Ῥαουέννης πόλισμα', Butrium was probably not independent, at least in the time of Augustus.[59]

Forum Druentinorum is mentioned in the following two inscriptions: 'curator reip. Forodruent. patr. coloniae Arim.' (*CIL* XI. 1, 379, found at Ariminum) and 'patr. col. Iul. Aug. Parm. patr. municipiorum Forodruent. et Foronovanor.' (*CIL* XI. 1, 1059, found at Parma). There is hardly room for another *municipium* in the immediate vicinity of Ariminum, especially as the Solonates mentioned by Pliny have to be located here.[60] It is obviously much better to find a site near Parma, therefore, than to locate the Forum elsewhere, with no confirmatory evidence. In fact, the most probable place is south of Parma, where there was an ancient road running over Mons Bardonis. We have already seen that the building or improvement of a road was often accompanied by the foundation of a *forum*.[61] On this route is the modern village of Terenzo, a name which Corradi-Cervi [62] plausibly derives from 'Druentinorum'.

This site is near to that of Forum Novum (the other place whose memory is preserved for us in *CIL* IX. 1, 1059),[63] for this *forum* had been generally placed at Fornovo Taro, on the road from Parma to Luna.[64] Why was this *forum* not mentioned by Pliny? Since he mentions two other *fora* that are difficult to localise, it seems reasonable to follow other writers in supposing that one of these is to be identified with Forum Novum, or to be regarded as its predecessor. Of the two, Forum Clodi is the more obvious choice, because of the likelihood of a *forum* of this name being in an area which can be connected in some way with the Via Cassia-Clodia, running up from Rome to

[57] 'The Italic Regions', *Classica et Mediaevalia: Dissertationes*, IV, Copenhagen, 1947, p. 25.
[58] See Rudi Thomsen, *op. cit.*, 46.
[59] But see M. Corradi-Cervi, 'I municipi ignoti dell'-VIII regione augustea', *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, 3rd series, I, 1938, pp. 117–26.
[60] See below, p. 65.
[61] See above, n. 28.
[62] *Op. cit.*
[63] But see R. Andreotti, 'Le communicazioni antiche di Parma col Tirreno', *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* IV (1927). For the view taken here, on the other hand, see M. Corradi-Cervi, *op. cit.*, and A. Solari, 'Forum Novanorum', *Athenaeum*, N.S. VI, 1928, p. 352.
[64] R. Andreotti, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

Lucca and Luna. A trans-Apennine extension of this road-system may have been built by the same Clodius, or by a later member of the same *gens*.[65] This *gens* is also found on an inscription from Fornovo (*CIL* XI. 1, 1131). The *Tabula Peutingeriana* marks a Forum Clodi between Lucca and Luna, but this must have been in Etruria. Unless there is a serious mistake in the Tabula or in Pliny, we must suppose that there were two places named 'Forum Clodi'. This suggests different dates and different founders; it also gives a possible reason (the need for distinction) for the adoption of the cognomen 'Novum' by the later foundation—a cognomen which led to the abandonment of the old title Forum Clodi. On the other hand, the name may have arisen after a shift of power from an old Forum Clodi to another centre nearby. Another inscription from Fornovo (*CIL* XI. 1, 1132) gives the tribe Galeria; this may be a stray, or it may indicate that Forum Clodi and Veleia were once a single *municipium*.

With Forum Clodi located at or near Fornovo, we have to try to locate Forum Licini; but nothing more than hazardous suggestions can be made. It seems that the only Licinius who could have been the founder was C. Licinius Crassus, who was proconsul, with Italy for his province, in 168 B.C. Livy (XLV, 12) says 'profectus in Galliam circa Macros campos ad montis Siciminam et Papiniam stativa habuit; deinde circa eadem loca cum sociis nominis Latini hibernabat; legiones Romanae, quod vitio dies exercitui ad conveniendum dicta erat, Romae manserant'. Licinius may have spent this enforced period of military inactivity in the unspectacular work of building a road and a *forum*; and we should probably be right to search for a Forum Licini in the neighbourhood of the Campi Macri, which were near Mutina. Either it has disappeared completely, or it is to be identified with Forum Gallorum between Mutina and Bononia. In 168 the Romans would still be concerned with the development of the Via Aemilia and its connections with its immediate hinterland, rather than with the settlement of Romans up in the mountains themselves. Perhaps from Forum Licini Gallorum (the name Gallorum must have had an early origin) Licinius built a road into the Apennines. The complete disappearance of the name Licini is hard to explain, however, and it must be admitted that there is no evidence that Forum Gallorum was ever independent.

Three more of the towns mentioned by Pliny should probably be located to the south of the Via Aemilia. The 'Saltus Galliani qui cognominantur Aquinates' must surely be connected somehow with the Campi Macri, south of Mutina (Livy XLI, 18; XLV, 12; Columella VII, 2; Varro, *RR*, 2 proem.; Strabo V, 216; *CIL* X. 1, 1401; Bormann, *CIL* XI. 1, p. 170) and with the 'procurator ad praedia Galliana' of later times (*CIL* III, 536). The Solonates lived near Ariminum, where there is a place today called Sogliano. This people is mentioned on an inscription from Ariminum, which reads 'C. Galerio C. f. Ann . . . curatori Sassinatium, curatori Solonatium' (*CIL* XI. 1, 414). Many tegulae have also been found that are marked Solona or Solonates (*CIL* XI. 6687, 1–8). The evidence seems decisive for an independent *municipium*.[66] The Urbanates are probably to be located on the Upper Secchia, where there is still a Valle Urbana.[67]

The remaining two peoples, the Padinates and the Otesini, cannot be securely located. The former name may have some connection with that of the river *Padus*

[65] See A. Solari, 'Sull'antichità della via Faventia-Luca', *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[66] M. Corradi-Cervi, *op. cit.*

[67] M. Corradi-Cervi, *op. cit.*

(the Po); the second name appears in an inscription from Bergomum (*CIL* V, 5126). Probably both are to be placed somewhere on the Po.

These small centres were doubtless the focal points of the agricultural communities among the hills and marshes, where probably most of the population lived in scattered farms and villages. Among these people were perhaps descendants of the inhabitants whom Roman armies defeated, who were driven out of the fertile and well-drained parts of the plain, but who lived on in less precious areas, and gradually learnt something of Roman ways from the close contact established by trade with the towns on the road. Sometimes the urban centres were founded by the Romans, in building roads over the mountains; in other cases they seem to have grown up by themselves. By the time of Augustus the line of independent communities in the Apennines was: Veleia, Forum Clodi Novum, Forum Druentinorum, Saltus Galliani, Urbanates, Solonates. Near the Po were Brixellum, and probably the Otesini and the Padinates. Before the full citizenship was given to these towns they may well have been, as we have suggested, independent of the communities on the road. The various peoples probably had treaty relations with Rome, and the *fora* were centres where some Roman citizens lived. Here, however, there was not the same allocation of *ager* as had led to the assignment of the lowland area to the Pollia tribe at such an early date, and these regions were given tribe membership only in 89 or 49 B.C.

Turning now to Liguria, where the disappearance of the former inhabitants was not so complete, nor the area of settlement in 173 so large a proportion of the whole, we find that the following towns were in the Pollia tribe; Forum Fulvi-Valentia (*CIL* V. 2, 7443; Brambach, 1171); Vardagate (*CIL* V. 2, 7456, 7466); Industria-Bodincomagus (*CIL* V. 2, 7468, 7478); Carreum-Potentia (*Not. Scav.* 1912, p. 270); [68] Hasta (*CIL* V. 2, 7559, 7566, 7567; Pollentia (*CIL* V. 2, 7619, 7620) and Forum Germa.?. (*CIL* V. 2, 7832). Towns in these parts that were not in this tribe were: Dertona, in the Pomptina (*CIL* V. 2, 7375); Aquae Statiellae, in the Tromentina (*CIL* III, p. 853; V. 2, 7510; Brambach, 1185); Alba Pompeia and Augusta Bagiennorum, in the Camilia (*CIL* V. 2, 7601, 7605, 7607, and 7669, 7681, 7779); and Pedo, in the Quirina (*CIL* V. 2, 7861; VI, 2753). The tribe of Forum Iuli Iriensium is not known.

A comparison of the map and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* will shew that there is in fact a fairly well-defined area where the Pollia tribe is found exclusively, and outside which it does not appear. This area is bounded by the rivers Po, Tanarus and Stura. We can be reasonably sure that the whole of this area was allocated to the tribe before 89 B.C., and that if any of the towns within it were founded after that date they must have been founded in an area already assigned to colonists.[69] In default of any positive evidence, however, these towns cannot be considered regular colonies.[70] The land must have been assigned *viritim*. The only *viritim* grants we hear about are those of Livy

[68] Where it is wrongly stated that it was Pollentia that was also called Carrea.

[69] As was probably the case with Forum Germa . . . (Germanici?). If this is the correct name for the town mentioned in *CIL* V. 2, 7832, 7836, it must have been founded after the beginning of the Principate. The *ager* may have been already in the Pollia tribe by 89; in any event, it was then, or in 49, placed under the jurisdiction of one of the Pollia towns, probably Pollentia. See Gabotto ('I municipi romani dell'Italia occidentale alla morte di Teodosio il Grande', *Biblioteca della società storica subalpina*, XXXII, iii, 1907, p. 295), who is mistaken in placing the town at Germagnano in the valley of the Lanzo near Eporedia. The only positive reason for this is a possible derivation of the name from Forum Germanorum. It is better to place the town at Cavaglio, San Damiano or Busca. See Lamboglia, 'La Liguria antica', *Istituto per la Storia di Genova*, Milano, 1941, p. 318.

[70] But see below p. 70, for Pollentia.

XLII, 4, in 173, and the mention of 'ager Ligusticus' suggests at once that the whole of this Pollia area in Liguria, like that in Aemilia, was assigned on that occasion.

It has been maintained that the colonisation of this part dates only from the Gracchan period; that the Gracchan land-commissioners were able to settle landless citizens in this area on a large scale, thereby achieving the main purpose of the Gracchan laws without offending the interests of the landowners of the Italian peninsula; [71] and that this represents a compromise in the years following Gaius' death, when the triumvirate continued to function, but power gradually passed to the more conservative group.

The only classical authority to connect Gaius Gracchus in any way with Cisalpine Gaul is Velleius (II, 6) 'dabat civitatem omnibus Italicis, extendebat eam paene usque Alpis', and this is so vaguely phrased that it is impossible to base an argument upon it. Other pieces of evidence are adduced, however, in connection with the towns of Forum Fulvi and Dertona.

Pliny (*HN* III, 49) talks of 'Foro Fulvi quod Valentinum'; the *Tabula Peutingeriana* makes Forum Fulvia a station on the Dertona–Pollentia road, twenty-two Roman miles from Hasta; modern Valenza is on the Po and thirty miles from Hasta. Since the accuracy of the location in the *Tabula* is confirmed by the existence of a 'Villa del Foro' where the *forum* would have been, we conclude that there were two towns within the same *territorium*. Gabotto is right [72] to say that this represents two stages in the historical development of the area, but probably wrong to suggest that Valentia was a later growth, which overshadowed the *forum* built on the Via Fulvia. Lamboglia [73] thinks that the growth of Forum Fulvi led to the decline of the old centre on the Po, and its subordination. Gabotto can quote Pais, Supp. to *CIL* 928, which mentions a 'curator reipublicae Valentinae' and is evidence for a period when Valentia was either independent or predominant. The inscription cannot be dated, and in the course of the empire conditions may have changed from those of the time of Augustus. It is in any case hardly relevant to a discussion relating only to Republican times.

The first necessity is to determine the date of Forum Fulvi. Lamboglia [74] considers it a Caesarian foundation, to be connected with the improvement of the road to the west; but this does not explain its name. There were in fact two men who might have founded it; Q. Fulvius Flaccus, conqueror of the Ligures in 179, or M. Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of Gaius Gracchus, who was in command in Provence in 125 (Livy, *Per.* LX; Ammian. XV. 12, 5). In the first case, the *forum* would have been by far the earliest settlement in the area (an honour which Pais [75] allows it in any event). Livy (XL, 53) might seem to be in favour of this view, since he writes 'consul deditos in campestres agros deduxit praesidiaque montibus imposuit'. Perhaps, however, this describes an earlier stage in pacification than road-building in the Tanarus valley and the foundation of the Ligurian Pollia towns. Indeed, these were hardly 'praesidia montibus imposita'. Now Forum Fulvi is plainly to be connected with the road from Dertona to Pollentia, which is marked on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. This road can hardly be placed right back in 179, thirty years before the Via Postumia connected Dertona itself with other towns.

[71] See G. Tibiletti, 'Il possesso dell'*ager publicus* e le norme *de modo agrorum* sino ai Gracchi, I,' *Athenaeum*, XXVI, 1948, p. 198.

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

[74] *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

[75] *Dalle Guerre Puniche a Augusto*, I, Roma, 1918, p. 646.

If we take 125 as a more probable date for road and *forum*, we may be inclined to say that it was only in this year and afterwards that the Pollia land of Liguria was settled. Pais [76] suggests that all the colonisation followed the foundation of the Via Fulvia, and that much of it should perhaps be assigned to Saturninus.

Our problem, therefore, can now be stated as follows: was the foundation of Forum Fulvi in 125 the beginning of settlement in Liguria (or at least contemporaneous with the foundation of the other Pollia towns), or was it merely a piece of consolidation and improvement in an area settled long before?

It is here that evidence relating to Dertona is relevant. This town was certainly a triumviral or Augustan colony (Pliny III, 49), and was in the tribe Pomptina.[77] Was it a colony before this? Our only authority is Velleius (I. 15, 5) which reads 'et post annum (i.e. in 123 B.C.) Scolacium, Minervium, Tarentum, Neptunia Carthagoque in Africa, prima, ut praediximus, extra Italiam colonia condita est. De Dertona ambigitur, Narbo autem Martius in Gallia Porcio Marcioque consulibus (i.e. 118 B.C.) abhinc annos circiter centum quadraginta sex deducta colonia est'. This uncertainty about Dertona is generally taken to refer to its date; but some authors have doubted whether Dertona was colonised at all during the Republican period.[78] Inscriptions mention *IIviri*, but may all refer to the imperial colony. Let us take first the prevalent view, that Dertona was colonised about 120 B.C. and that the doubt Velleius expressed was doubt only as to the exact date (the fact that it is not mentioned in the Table of Polcevera of 117 does not prove that it had not been founded by then; on the other hand, the fact that roads were built connecting it with other centres in 148, 125 (?) and 109 does not help us to date the colony, since it was not founded on an entirely new site). On this view we shall see that Dertona and the Pollia towns cannot both have been founded by the Gracchan party.

We must first decide whether it was a Roman or Latin colony. If Roman, as is generally believed, why was it placed in the Pomptina tribe? All other colonies and settlements before 89 were in the Pollia (the case of Eporedia, founded in 100 and some distance from other Pollia areas is particularly significant). The only hypothesis that would explain this discrepancy would be that tribe-membership had political importance, that the value of the Pollia and the Pomptina tribes differed, and that different sponsors made use of them. Then, if the Pollia parts of Liguria were being settled at the same time by the Gracchan party, Dertona must have been an opposition colonial foundation. Of such a colony, however, we know nothing. If the Pollia areas had already been settled, on the other hand, Dertona might be a Gracchan foundation, and Eporedia, shewing a return to the Pollia, a colony sent out by the senatorial opposition to Saturninus.[79] But this theory about the relative value of the tribes has nothing but conjecture to support it; it should be abandoned, and with it, probably, the theory that Dertona was a Roman colony. Was it then Latin?[80] In this case tribe-membership presents no difficulty, since in 89 the Cisalpine towns with Latin rights were ascribed to various tribes. But the practice of founding Latin colonies had apparently been discontinued

[76] *Op. cit.*, pp. 657 ff.

[77] *CIL* VI, 2466 gives a change of tribe from Scaptia to Pomptina, but this is a change of an individual who took part in the Augustan colonisation of the place.

[78] See Gabotto, 'Storia di Tortona nell'età del comune', *Bibl. soc. stor. subalp.*, XCVI, i, N.S., 1922, p. 12.

[79] See below, p. 70. On the former view, it would be a colony in the Gracchan tradition, founded by Saturninus.

[80] See Pais, *op. cit.*, pp. 653 ff.

before Gracchan times.[81] If it was taken up again by the Gracchan party, it must surely have been in connection with the franchise question rather than the land question. But it is unlikely that they were at the same time settling Roman citizens in the Pollia towns of Liguria, and founding a Latin colony at Dertona, perhaps in some attempt to improve the status of a group of their Italian supporters. An opposition origin for a Latin colony is even more unlikely.

This discussion has shewn that it is difficult to accept 120 as the date of the foundation either of a Roman or of a Latin colony at Dertona; but that if we do place it then, whatever its status, it is harder to explain its foundation if we regard the Pollia settlements as of contemporary and Gracchan inspiration.[82]

If we abandon the suggestion that Dertona was a colony of 120, then we must find other grounds for rejecting the theory of Gracchan colonisation of the Pollia area after 125.[83] All the probabilities are against it. First there are the words of Livy, XLII, 4, 'agri Ligustini et Gallici'. Secondly, there is no evidence for Gracchan activity in the area except for the solitary fact of the foundation of Forum Fulvi and the building of the Via Fulvia. And, if these are attributed to the Flaccus who was Gaius Gracchus' friend, they must be assigned to the very period of his career when he might be supposed to be carrying out the wishes of the opposition party, who gave him the Gallic command. Thirdly, the names of the Pollia towns are comparable with those of colonies founded in the first part of the second century.[84] Fourthly, Pliny's phrase 'Foro Fulvi quod Valentinum' suggests that Valentia was the older foundation.[85]

We conclude, therefore, that what happened in 125 was but a second stage in development. In the first stage, the important part of the assigned land was that near the Po, forming a strip on its southern bank, useful to Rome not only for agricultural but also for defensive purposes. This was assigned in 173, and a certain amount of deliberate urbanisation was probably enforced. As a result, there developed the towns of Valentia, Sedulia (Vardagate),[86] Industria and Potentia. The native names were not forgotten, and they sometimes rivalled or superseded the Roman ones. This is a hint that the native population survived here to a much greater extent than in Aemilia. In 125 access to the Tanarus valley was improved, and perhaps some new land was assigned. The new road, from Dertona, must have led to a place already important, and Pollentia, by its position at the junction of the Tanarus and the Stura, was certainly always a considerable town. Ferrua suggests that it was made a colony in 100 B.C.[87] He thinks that in the passage of Velleius (I. 15, 5) 'in Bagiennis Eporedia Mario sextum Valerioque Flacco consulibus', part of the text is missing, for Velleius cannot have erred so grossly as to suppose that Eporedia was founded among the Bagienni. But it cannot have

[81] See above, p. 59.

[82] But we have certainly not explained why Velleius should have thought it possible Dertona was colonised in the Republican period. It is hard to see how there could have been evidence suggesting such colonisation if the Augustan settlement was the first there.

[83] A study of the town of Hasta does not furnish evidence for any theory. This town has been connected with Pompeius Magnus (Muratori, *Asti, colonia romana e sue iscrizioni latine*, Torino, 1869), but if anything the link must be with his father. The name Hasta does not suggest foundation at the same time as the other Pollia towns; but even if it was not founded until 89, the *territorium* may have been already inscribed in the Pollia tribe.

[84] Copia, 193; Vibo Valentia, 192; Potentia, 184.

[85] It should be noted that the similar formation of the names Valentia, Potentia, etc., suggests that all these places were founded at the same time.

[86] The name Sedulia is found only in later documents, and may have been no more than that of a villa. Analogy suggests, however, that Vardagate also had a Roman name.

[87] *Inscriptiones Italiae*, IX, Regio IX, fasc. I: *Augusta Bagiennorum et Pollentia*, Rome, 1948, p. xii. The only inscription that mentions a supreme magistrate reads: 'L. Gavius C. f. Pollia aedilis duovir quinquennalis' (*ibid.*, n. 179).

been a reference to Augusta Bagiennorum that has dropped out, for the only reason for supposing that place a colony is that, founded by Augustus, it was called after him. Ferrua suggests that in 100 B.C. Pollentia was founded among the Bagienni, at the same time as Eporedia was founded among the Salassi.[88] Pollentia was always a highly-Romanised centre,[89] but the lack of other evidence for its colonisation is not surprising, in view of our general poverty of information about Cisalpine Gaul. The form of the name Pollentia would, however, point to a foundation contemporary with that of the other Pollia towns. Whether there was a colonial foundation or not, we have already seen that there must have been some urban development on the site in 125.

It may be difficult to accept Dertona as either a Roman or a Latin colony in 125; but the foundation of Eporedia is securely fixed to 100 B.C. Its status as a Roman colony should never have been questioned (*CIL* V. 2, p. 753), for Pliny's use of 'oppidum' (*HN* III, 123) seems to be in a passage of digression, and Tacitus' of 'municipium' (*Hist.* I, 70) is non-technical. Not only are the magistrates *IIviri*, but the tribe is the Pollia. This is conclusive, since Latin colonies were not placed in this tribe on gaining the full franchise in 89. It has been suggested that Eporedia was founded by the opposition to Saturninus.[90] We know that this agitator was interested in the use of land in Cisalpine Gaul. Appian (B.C. I, 29) says: ὁ μὲν Ἀπουλήιος νόμον ἐσέφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν ὅσην ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένῃ Γαλατίᾳ Κίμβροι γένος ϛΚελτῶν κατειλήφεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἔναγχος ἐξελάσας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους περιεστάκει.' This was a loose reference to the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, regarded as available for Roman settlement because saved by Marius from domination by the Cimbri. Cicero (*pro Balbo*, 48) says: 'sed cum lege Apuleia coloniae non essent deductae, qua lege Saturninus C. Mario tulerat, ut in singulas colonias ternos cives Romanos facere posset . . .'. Since Appian attributes only one colonial law to Saturninus in 100, it does not seem possible for Eporedia to be a foundation under an Apuleian law. The theory that it was a colony proposed as a senatorial counter-attraction to the suggestions of Saturninus derives support from Pliny (*HN* III. 123) 'Oppidum Eporedia Sibyllinis a populo Romano conditum iussis'. It sounds as if the foundation had a political motive, and the usual propaganda methods were being employed. This move by the Senate may be compared with the proposals of Livius Drusus made in the earlier struggle, against Gaius Gracchus.[91]

[88] K. Lachmann (*Gromatici Veteres*, Berlin, 1848, p. 203, fig. 196*b*) gives a 'colonia Iulia Augusta' between Opulentia (=Pollentia?) and Hasta. This could not be Augusta Bagiennorum because the site is wrong (see Manzone, *I Liguri Bagienni e la loro Augusta*, Torino, 1893, p. 94). Alba Pompeia has IIviri (*CIL* V. 2, 7605, 7606), but was probably not an Augustan colony. And if this colonia Iulia Augusta was Pollentia itself, what was Opulentia? In fact, no reliance can be placed on these diagrams, which were often purely imaginary. It is only fair to mention, however, that an inscription (*CIL* V. 2, 7629) found between the Stura and the Po refers to an 'Iulia Augusta'. It is usual to refer this to Augusta Taurinorum, but it might come from one of the Pollia towns.

[89] By the time of Tiberius the town was walled and probably had an amphitheatre (Suet. *Tib.* 37). Remains have been found of a forum, temple, theatre and large amphitheatre.

[90] See Fraccaro, 'La colonia romana di Eporedia e la sua centuriazione', *Annali dei Lavori Pubblici*, 1941, fasc. 10, p. 6.

[91] Chilver suggests that the commercial class, joining the Senate in 100 B.C. against Saturninus, would have been suspicious of the planting of a veteran colony in their mining area, and he wonders whether a Latin colony was not their counter-proposal.

Although I believe the colony to have been Roman, I think its foundation may have had something to do with the gold mines of Victimulae. The Salassi had first been defeated by Appius Claudius in 143 (Livy, *Per.* LIII; Dio, fr. 74), and the gold mines were apparently let out to public contractors (Strabo IV, 205). They were not allowed to employ more than five thousand men (Pliny, *HN* XXXIII, 66). Was the colony founded partly to control these financiers, or solely to protect them from the Salassi?

Eporedia was the last colonisation to be made before the beginning of the Social War, which effected a very considerable change throughout the region and was a turning-point in the history of Cisalpine Gaul. It is interesting to note that its foundation displayed two motives that had always been the cause of Roman interest and advancement there; the settlement of Roman small-farmers, and the defence of Roman citizens and property.[92]

URSULA EWINS

[92] For the attacks of the Salassi even after the colony was founded see Strabo IV, 6, 205.

NOTES ON ROMAN POLICY IN ILLYRIA
(230–201 B.C.)

THE history of the relations of the Roman Republic with the kings, tribes, and cities of Illyria cannot at present be written, as the evidence does not permit the construction of a coherent and comprehensive account. This, perhaps, is why scholars have often tended to neglect the subject,[1] and have thereby been led into serious errors in dealing with the history of Roman expansion and early imperial organisation. It is the aim of this paper to set out what conclusions can be reached on some important aspects of the subject, and to indicate the way in which these conclusions may be related to the general study of Roman foreign policy during its most interesting period.

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[1] Zippel's account is the only attempt to treat the subject as a whole; but, though still indispensable, it is now in many respects out of date.

(I)

Holleaux has shown (on present evidence beyond refutation) that Rome had no Eastern policy or aspirations until she was drawn into the First Illyrian War.[2] It is at this point, therefore, that we must take up our study (with Rome the greatest power in the West, but as yet barely on the political horizon of the Hellenistic East) and consider the origins of that war which first turned Rome towards the Eastern Mediterranean.[3]

The Illyrian tribe of the Ardiaei, forced south by Celtic pressure, had rapidly conquered its neighbours and by 230 controlled an extensive empire east of the Adriatic. It was, however, far from being a civilised state, and the Greeks regarded it as a scourge. But Demetrius II of Macedon was skilful enough to turn the rise of this new power to his advantage: in 231 he obtained the Illyrian king Agron's help[4] against the Aetolians, who were then trying to force the Acarnanian city of Medeon to join their League. The Illyrians put 5,000 men ashore from their *lembi*—swift little boats, which they used with equal success as pirate craft and as troop transports—and, marching inland, defeated the Aetolian army besieging the town. The best soldiers in Greece, who had beaten off the Celtic invader, had succumbed to the new barbarian enemy. At this point Agron died and his wife Teuta, it seems, was made regent for his son Pinnes, who must have been a small child.[5] She or her advisers, encouraged by their recent success, embarked on what appears to have been no longer a raid, but a policy of southward expansion. In 230 a force was sent south on *lembi*, to all appearances bent on another of the usual raids on the Peloponnese. But this time Scerdilaidas—a dynast about whom we shall have more to say later—was sent overland over the Aous pass to invade Epirus with 5,000 men and meet the force disembarked from the boats. The latter had in the meantime put in at Phoenice (on the pretext of buying provisions) and, with the help of some Celtic mercenaries stationed there, had captured the city. The Epirot army, forced to send a detachment against Scerdilaidas, was defeated by the Illyrians and Northern Epirus occupied.[6] But not long after, an Achaeo-Aetolian relief force arrived at Helicranum (near Phoenice), summoned by the appeals of the Epirots. The Illyrians, marching out from Phoenice, in vain offered battle: the Greeks, in superior positions, thought they had no reason to risk defeat. Strategically this was no doubt sound; but politically it was unwise. The Illyrians arranged a truce with the

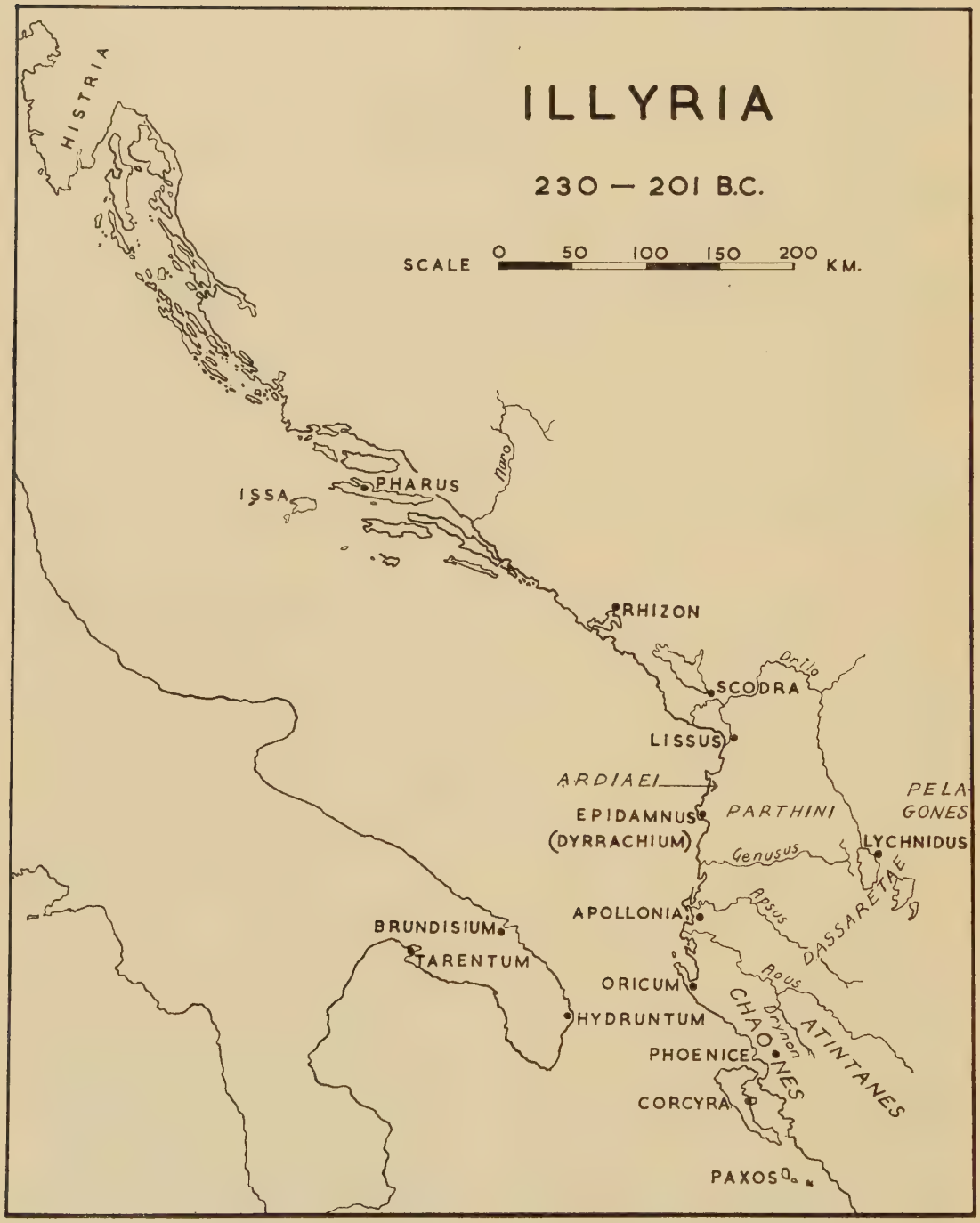
[2] *Rome, passim.*

[3] Our main sources are Polybius (II 2–12), Dio (fr. 49) and Zonaras (VIII 19), and Appian (*Ill.* 7). For discussions of them, v. especially Zippel, pp. 46 f., Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 98, n. 2; Vulić, pp. 235 f.; Fluss, cc. 1140 f. Zippel was inclined to prefer Dio to Polybius, and this unfortunately influenced De Sanctis (iii 1, pp. 295 f.). Holleaux gives reasons for rejecting Dio and following Polybius. Appian, though his source seems to have been well informed on the Illyrian side, is full of annalistic inventions and has added his own confusions. Vulić's attempt to trace Appian and Dio to one common source is unconvincing. Dio derives from an annalistic account plus Polybius (or an account based on his); Appian may be ultimately based on the former. The importance of the war was recognised by Polybius (II 2, 2: ἅπερ οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐπιστάσεως θεωρητέον τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀληθινῶς . . . συνθέασασθαι . . . τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ κατασκευὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας).

[4] For the family tree of the royal house, as far as we can trace it, v. Lenschau, cc. 237–8.

[5] Polybius ignores Pinnes, probably because he can never have framed policy. The information comes from Dio and Appian and is confirmed by Livy (cf. n. 76).

[6] Polybius (II 4–15) describes all this as a series of accidents, making the Illyrians intent only on plunder. He often refuses to credit these barbarians with any ability for planning or using reason, where we can see from his facts that his judgment is mistaken (cf. nn. 18 and 53 below), and modern scholars have often been misled by this (e.g. Holleaux, *CAH* vii p. 830; Fluss, c. 1145). In this case, the despatch of Scerdilaidas and the co-ordination between the two forces, as well as the treaty finally made, show the seriousness of the plan.


ILLYRIA
230 — 201 B.C.
SCALE 0 50 100 150 200 KM.
HISTRIA
ISSA
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Naro
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Drilo
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LISSUS
ARDIAEI
EPIDAMNUS
(DYRRACHIUM)
PARTHINI
PELAGONES
LYCHNIDUS
Genusus
APOLLONIA
Apsus
DASSARETAE
BRUNDISIUM
TARENTUM
ORICUM
Aous
Drynon
CHAONES
ATINTANES
HYDRUNTUM
PHOENICE
CORCYRA
PAXOS

Epirots and (probably on receiving the promise of an alliance) withdrew northward, to crush a rebellion by some tribes. Teuta must have thought the result of that short campaign highly satisfactory: Epirus and with it Acarnania (so far as it was not Aetolian) became allies of the Illyrians, after seeing that no Greek force had dared to meet them in the field. In addition, it seems, the Epirots had had to cede Atintania, the important territory round the Aous-Drynon gorges: its cession, laying Epirus open to invasion from the north, must have been a pledge for the promised alliance and then for the continued fidelity of the new allies.[7]

But it was this campaign which led to Roman intervention. Piracy had always been a legitimate pursuit among the Illyrians, and Italian shipping had not been exempt. But Rome, though the leader of the Italian Confederacy and (since the defeat of Carthage) the greatest naval power, had not been willing to undertake the troublesome task of policing the seas for the benefit of her allies. And, having no Eastern ambitions, she had ignored the activities of the Illyrians. In 230 this attitude suddenly changed. While the Illyrians were occupying Northern Epirus, their *lembi* had intercepted many Italian traders crossing the Adriatic. This time the Senate decided to take the matter more seriously and sent C. and L. Coruncanius to the Queen-Regent. They found her besieging the Greek island-city of Issa, perhaps the only Adriatic island not under her control. She listened to their complaints and promised to guarantee the Romans—i.e. the Italians—immunity from all public action by her navy, but said that she could not prevent private acts of piracy—a recognised way of earning a livelihood. It seemed that the way to negotiation lay open, especially as no mention appears to have been made of an indemnity. But the envoys now delivered what was in effect a declaration of war. On their return journey one of them was murdered—by the Queen's orders, it was naturally said. If war had not previously been decided upon, it was now inevitable. For the first time Rome was involved in war east of the Adriatic.

The reasons for this sudden development have often been discussed. At one time it was fashionable to make the war part of a deep-laid Roman plan for expansion and regard it as the logical consequence of the defeat of the Western enemy. Holleaux showed such theories to be untenable and substituted for them his own account (reproducing that of Polybius) of a Senate unwillingly drawn into an unwelcome entanglement by a barbarian ruler behaving γυναικοθύμως καὶ ἀλογίστως.[8] Since then the 'imperialist' theory has at times been revived, but never with much success.[9] Holleaux has proved that for a generation after the Illyrian War nothing was further from the minds of the *Patres* than schemes for Eastern expansion; and this demonstration still stands, even if we have to reject many of his views on the war itself—as indeed we do.

The Roman decision to take action at that precise time is, on his thesis, left unexplained; and so, even more clearly, is the scale on which action was taken. The Roman case, which the Coruncanii had to present to Teuta, was very poor: if previously Rome might with good reason have complained of injuries inflicted on her allies by pirates, she now had to demand satisfaction for what was in fact a legitimate operation of war. If Italian blockade-runners carried cargoes to the enemy the Illyrian

[7] For Atintania, v. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 110, n. 1 (with summary of earlier views and conclusive argumentation).

[8] Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 98 f., with references to earlier views; also *CAH* vii, pp. 831 f. Cf. Pol. II 8, 12.

[9] E.g. by Carcopino, pp. 50 f. Cf. also Walek's debate with Holleaux in *Rev. Phil.* 1925–6.

forces were then fighting (whether the war was one of aggression is irrelevant), the Illyrians can hardly be blamed for interfering. Italians, as we know, were given to blockade-running (then as now a profitable operation) under the protection of the Roman name; on one occasion they had almost precipitated a major war by their activities.[10] But that time there had been a peaceful settlement. This time there was not--through no fault of the Queen's, whose answer, as even Polybius' hostile account reveals, was as conciliatory as it could be. The insulting reply of the Roman envoy made it impossible.[11] It is clear enough from Polybius' narrative that the ambassadors, though not the Senate, had decided upon war.[12] And we have no reason to assume that, if they had returned unscathed and reported, war would not have broken out: they had been sent ἐπίσκεψιν ποιησόμενοι,[13] and we know from many second-century examples that the Senate usually accepted the recommendations of its commissioners.

What, then, had made the Coruncanii decide upon war, seeing that they had not had instructions to bring it about? To be able to answer this question we must first ask what precisely had been the purpose of their mission. There was no need for an ἐπίσκεψις on the Illyrian attacks on Italian shipping—the facts were plain and widely confirmed. Holleaux therefore rejects Polybius, in this one instance, and believes that the ambassadors were sent to demand satisfaction and exact guarantees.[14] On that hypothesis, as we have tried to point out, events become difficult to understand. But once we admit (only in a somewhat wider sense) their task of ἐπίσκεψις, everything is much clearer. They were sent, above all, on a mission of investigation into a part of the world of which the Senate probably knew little. And their investigation convinced them that the state of affairs they found constituted a danger to Rome. It has been urged that this was because of the Illyrian kingdom's Macedonian connexions. But this hypothesis is not needed; for the recent successes of that kingdom and the terrible impression they had made on the mind of Greece [15] must have made it appear much more formidable than it was later seen to be. Indeed, the scale of the Roman operation that followed is evidence that this was so: the forces finally sent out consisted of 20,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 200 ships, and this strong deployment has baffled scholars and cannot be explained by Holleaux,[16] who thinks it due to Roman fear of Macedon, although (as he himself points out) there is no evidence for an anti-Macedonian policy on the part of Rome; and the later settlement of Illyria shows (cf. below) that fear of Macedon cannot have been one of the motives for the expedition. The simplest

[10] Pol. I 83, 7 (Mercenary War in Africa). For a similar view of this case, v. Walek, pp. 32 f. (not refuted by Holleaux). Holleaux's insistence, against the 'imperialist' theory, on the fact that 'l'occasion de châtier les Illyriens s'offrait depuis longtemps et chaque jour aux Romains' (*Rome*, p. 98, n. 3) only throws into greater relief the weakness of his own explanation for the sudden change in attitude.

[11] Holleaux again echoes Polybius' judgments instead of using his facts. Thus he describes Teuta's reply as 'd'une insolence calculée, qui rend vaine toute négotiation' and states that after Coruncanius' speech 'son orgueil de femme s'exaspère' (*Rome*, pp. 100–1). This phrase comes almost straight out of Polybius, and much Illyrian (and some Hellenistic) history has been obscured by such reflection of his prejudices.

[12] We cannot regard this as based merely on an apologia for the Senate, as we know that by the time the fleet got under weigh (the army was even later) the next campaigning season was well advanced. (V. below.)

[13] Pol. II 8, 3. In view of their position Holleaux's insistence that 'les paroles prononcées par le légat [Pol. II 8, 10–1] gardent un caractère privé' (*Rome*, p. 101, n. 1) is pointless.

[14] *Rome*, p. 99.

[15] Pol. II 6, 7–8; cf. 12, 6.

[16] Pol. II 11, 1 and 7; *Rome*, p. 102, n. 3. To the Romans Macedon was a distant kingdom (cf. Fine, 'The Problem of Macedonian Holdings . . .', *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxiii, 1932, pp. 126 f.), causing no concern. The Illyrian peril, however, seems throughout Greece to have assumed the proportions of the earlier Gallic peril: 'οὐ μικρὰν οὐδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν κατάπληξιν καὶ φόβον' Polybius calls it; and the Romans cannot have been ignorant of this feeling, which was probably even shared by their Italian informants.

explanation is the best. The events in Epirus, reflected in numerous Italian reports about Illyrian strength, decided the Senate to send a mission of inquiry, but do no more. This mission convinced itself of the reality of the danger and, deciding that war would be necessary, used the *rerum repetitio* in that way (familiar to students of Roman history) which implied war. As it happened, one of the envoys was later killed. But the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις of the war lay deeper: it was the usual Roman fear of strong neighbours and (as so often) was based on a misapprehension.

At the beginning of the campaigning season of 229 [17] Teuta, having been warned of the Roman attack, took the only measures that offered any hope against it: she attempted to forestall it by seizing the landing places along the Illyrian coast which were not yet under her control—Epidamnus and Apollonia—as well as Corcyra, the key to the southern flank of her position and to the Epirot coast. Her troops all but succeeded in seizing Epidamnus and then sailed on to Corcyra, where they landed and laid siege to the city. An Achaeo-Aetolian fleet of ten cataphracts, coming to raise the siege, was intercepted by the Illyrians with the help of their Acarnanian allies and defeated off Paxos; Corcyra surrendered and received a garrison under the dynast of Pharus, the Greek Demetrius. The Illyrians now settled down to besiege Epidamnus.[18] At this point the Roman fleet under Cn. Fulvius Centumalus appeared off Corcyra. Demetrius, who had incurred Teuta's suspicion (perhaps because he had designs on the Illyrian throne), had communicated to the consul his willingness to surrender the island;[19] he kept his word, handed over Corcyra and the garrison, and henceforth helped the Romans against his suzerain. The rest was easy. At Apollonia the army under L. Postumius Albinus joined the fleet, and the city (like Corcyra before it) was received into the Roman *fides*. Next Epidamnus was relieved and similarly treated. Embassies from all over Illyria now met the victorious consuls, and no doubt diplomatic compliments were exchanged. Most important of all, the strong tribes of the Parthini in the north and the Atintanes in the south sent to offer their surrender, which was accepted. Next the island of Issa was relieved and also received *in fidem*, and some minor Ardiaean places along the coast north of Epidamnus were taken. Teuta entrenched herself at Rhizon, and the consuls, having put Demetrius in charge of the conquered Illyrian territory, returned to Epidamnus. One consul now left for Rome with the greater part of the forces (seen to be unnecessary), while the other stayed behind and in the following spring granted Teuta terms.[20]

[17] For the chronology, v. Holleaux in *REG* xliii, 1930, pp. 243 f.; though it is probably better to put the death of Demetrius a little later than he would do, and there is no need to think that it had anything to do with the Achaeo-Aetolian decision to send a force to Corcyra (rightly Vulič, pp. 232 f.).

[18] The story is told graphically, but without any understanding for the Illyrian plan, in Pol. II 9–10. To what extent the Polybian view has imposed itself upon modern scholars is shown by Holleaux's account (*Rome*, p. 101; *CAH* vii, p. 833), according to which the Illyrian operations of 229 are 'une expédition de piraterie plus ample et plus hardie que les précédentes' and are used as evidence that Teuta did not believe in a Roman invasion! For a more reasonable (but still over-complicated) view, v. Treves, 1934, p. 391. We cannot easily conceive of a plan that would have given Teuta as good a chance of forestalling the Roman invasion as the one she adopted might have done.

[19] Treves (1934, pp. 389–90) believes that Demetrius had first contacted the Coruncanii at Issa, since Polybius describes him, at the time of his final treason, as ἐν διαβολαῖς ὢν καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν Τεῦταν (II 11, 4). But such a view is contrary to what Polybius actually says, since he makes the διαβολαί the cause and not the effect of Demetrius' contacting the Romans. It is much more probable that Demetrius (perhaps with the help of Pinnes' mother) was even at that time intriguing for the guardianship of the boy king, which he later obtained (cf. below).

[20] Pol. II 11–2. On the topography, v. map; cf. Zippel, pp. 50 f.; Holleaux, *CAH* vii, p. 836 and map 14 (facing p. 825). On the Parthini, v. Polaschek in *R-E*, s.v. The Roman forces did not penetrate inland. On the questions of which consul returned to Italy in 229 and why only

It is the terms of this peace that we must next consider; for on this subject the gravest errors seem to have been committed by some modern scholars, with the effect that the history of an important period in Roman foreign policy has (we would urge) been constructed on imaginary foundations. According to the Polybian account, which most historians profess in the main to be following, Teuta agreed to pay tribute, gave up most of Illyria, and undertook never to send more than two ships (and those unarmed) south of Lissus. The 'tribute' was probably a war indemnity payable in instalments.[21] As for the rest, it is said that Polybius or his source did not know the extent of Illyrian territory, and that some important terms have been omitted. We must therefore next inquire what were the boundaries of the territories the Queen ceded; and the state of our evidence makes this question not at all easy to answer. The accepted theory is that the Illyrian kingdom lost all its possessions south of the parallel of Lissus, and that all these territories became a Roman protectorate.[22] We shall consider the latter statement first, as its falsity can (it seems) be demonstrated. Polybius' narrative mentions only the following as received into the *fides* ('friendship', etc., we may take to mean the same) of Rome: Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, the Parthini, the Atintanes, Issa. In addition, we are told that from Epidamnus the Romans προῆγον εἰς τοὺς εἴσω τόπους τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἅμα καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς Ἀρδιαίους, and that on its way from Epidamnus to Issa the fleet took πόλεις τινὰς Ἰλλυρίδας ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ κατὰ κράτος. Zippel rightly explains τοὺς εἴσω τόπους τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος as referring, not to the interior, but to the country north of Epidamnus;[23] and there is no mention of either conquest or voluntary surrender of any other tribe or city. In fact, Polybius, when recording the embassies that flocked to meet the Romans, makes it clear that only the Parthini and Atintanes offered and were allowed to surrender *in fidem*.[24] The list of tribes and cities given by Holleaux [25] and generally accepted as forming the Roman 'protectorate' is therefore largely imaginary and the usual map of the protectorate entirely misleading. The protectorate consisted of the cities of Apollonia and Epidamnus and their territory, the islands of Corcyra and Issa, and the tribes of the Parthini and Atintanes. If there was more, we do not know it; but we have no reason to assume that there would be much,[26] and in any case it would not form a continuous strip of territory from Lissus to the mainland facing Corcyra. In addition, however, Demetrius of Pharus had become a client of Rome.

It is generally believed that the Illyrian dominions after 228 (i.e. the territory later under Demetrius' control) must have been north of Lissus, both because of the boundary

Fulvius triumphed (*Inscr. It.* xiii 1, pp. 78–9 and 549–50) certainty cannot be attained. The tale that Issa surrendered to the Romans and that this was the cause, or one of the causes, of the war is unfortunately accepted by De Sanctis (like so much that comes from Dio), but Holleaux has shown that it may be dismissed (*Rome*, p. 23, n. 6). That Issa received a *foedus aequum* is a pointless conjecture based on this and meant to explain the omission of the city in Philip's treaty with Hannibal; as Holleaux points out (*Rome*, p. 106, n. 3), it fails to do so and ought never to have been considered.

[21] This was pointed out by Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* iv² 1, p. 666, n. 1); but the instalment payable in 217 is probably not part of this indemnity, but belongs to a new one imposed in 219: the Romans by this time never bore the cost of their victorious wars.

[22] This 'protectorate' is described as 'about 120 miles in length and from 20 to 40 miles in width' (Walbank, p. 12); cf. Zippel, pp. 53 f.; Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 105 f. and *CAH* vii, p. 836 and map 14; Treves, 1934, p. 392; and others.

[23] p. 51. It is, for a Greek, the region 'inside Illyria proper'.

[24] II 11, 11: συμμιξάντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ πλειόνων, ὧν οἱ παρὰ τῶν Παρθίνων ἦκον ἐπιτρέποντες τὰ καθ' αὑτούς, δεξάμενοι τούτους εἰς τὴν φιλίαν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἀτιντάνων προσελθόντας, προῆγον . . . .

[25] *CAH* vii, p. 836 and map 14; cf. also map by Fluss.

[26] The townships of the Ardiaeans north of Epidamnus taken by the Romans (v. n. 23 and text) may have been assigned to the Parthini or to Demetrius' personal δυναστεία and thus remained within the protectorate. On Oricum, v. Appendix.

at sea ('Fahrtgrenze') imposed by the Romans and because of their protectorate over the South.[27] But if we are right in denying the existence of a continuous protectorate, the 'Fahrtgrenze' alone does not justify any conclusion at all as to the 'Landesgrenze'.[28] What made the Illyrians dangerous (as Polybius tells us) was chiefly their navy; and with the latter kept well north of the Straits of Otranto that danger was gone—though it is to be noted, as bearing on any discussion of the causes of the war, that apparently nothing was done to safeguard Italian shipping in the Adriatic. On land, with the Parthini in the north and the Atintanes in the south barring its way, and a chain of Greek cities no doubt ready to report any signs of activity to Rome, the kingdom could never again aspire to be a great power. Thus we can take the territorial provisions of the treaty as they are implied by Polybius and expressed by Appian and need not assume that Rome detached from Illyria any more territory than had already surrendered to her; the remainder of the South remained dependent on the kingdom, though (especially in view of the 'Fahrtgrenze') this dependence would be difficult to maintain and in practice vary with the strength of the central government. But that was of the essence of barbarian kingdoms and would not be unwelcome to Rome. There is in fact some evidence (often ignored) suggesting that the regions concerned remained attached to the kingdom. Appian, when recording Demetrius' later anti-Roman activities, credits him with having caused a Histrian war and an Atintanian revolt.[29] The Histrian war (whatever we think of Demetrius' share in it) is historical (cf. below); and the Atintanian revolt must come from the same source and should probably be accepted. But in this case 'revolt' cannot mean open warfare: in the circumstances of the time and the position of the Atintanes (cf. below) it can only mean that Demetrius, who is accused of having revolted against the Romans, succeeded in again bringing them into some sort of dependence on the Illyrian kingdom (i.e. himself). This he can hardly have done, if the latter extended only as far as the 'Lissus line', as a glance at the map will show. And though we may postulate a series of unrecorded encroachments establishing a land connexion, it is simpler to reject the Lissus frontier (itself a modern postulate) and, returning to the sources, to believe that with the exception of a few districts the Illyrian kingdom extended as far south as the borders of Atintania.

As for the effect of the war on the positions of Teuta and Demetrius, this is a much more difficult question to answer with any degree of certainty; for Polybius, our only good source hitherto, is not interested in Illyrian internal affairs (he never mentions Pinnes) and our other sources, though at times apparently well informed, are unreliable. Polybius says that the Queen ceded nearly all of Illyria and that Demetrius was left in charge of 'most of the Illyrians'—but the former statement cannot be accurate as it stands (for all the rest of our evidence shows that Demetrius remained a vassal of the kingdom), and the latter refers to the autumn of 229 and is not necessarily implied in the final settlement, where the Pharian is not mentioned. Dio-Zonaras makes her resign her regency to Demetrius, but elsewhere reports that she died. Appian says that Pinnes kept all his territories except those ceded to Roman protection (of which he

[27] Thus Zippel, pp. 53 f.; De Sanctis iii 1, p. 302; Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 105 and *CAH* vii, p. 836; and others.

[28] For the terms, v. Täubler, p. 77, where the conclusion is stated as a matter of fact.

[29] *Ill.* 8.

gives an incomplete list), while Demetrius was given a few places on precarious tenure because of his untrustworthiness. But the latter statement is an annalist's *ex post facto* invention and may be dismissed at once. Scholars have tried to combine the evidence in various ways. De Sanctis[30] gives Demetrius 'un piccolo dominio' consisting of Lissus and Pharus—an impossible combination, as Holleaux points out, and one based on no evidence. Holleaux himself suggests Pharus and some places in the vicinity, but is wise enough not to insist.[31] In any case, Demetrius soon supplanted the Queen as regent and married the King's mother Triteuta;[32] and it is perhaps most likely that this was arranged by the Romans in 228, Teuta agreeing to give up the regency and withdrawing to a δυναστεία, such as that of Demetrius had been (it was probably Rhizon, to which she had fled after her defeat in 229—cf. the parallel case of Demetrius and Pharus in 219). This would fit in with Polybius' facts (that she retained only ὀλίγους τόπους), and as his account is probably based on Postumius' own summary,[33] his facts must not be lightly rejected; while on Illyrian constitutional matters his knowledge is obviously as slight as his interest. Moreover, such an arrangement would be very welcome to the Romans, dispelling any fear of the Illyrian kingdom they may still have had and converting the latter, if not into a client state, at least into a state controlled by a client. It is probably thus that the Illyrian settlement was completed.[34]

We have now, as far as our sources will permit, determined the provisions and the immediate effects of the peace of 228. It remains to say a few words on the position of what we have called the Roman protectorate. That the states concerned were left free, i.e. without taxes, garrisons, or governors, is generally agreed.[35] And we need not consider the old idea that they 'counted as *dediticii* enjoying *libertas precaria*';[36] for it has been demolished by Heuss's researches.[37] In consequence, we need no longer assume that a city which (like Corcyra) seems to have been held in some regard by the Romans must have had a treaty,[38] when there is no evidence for any treaties with Illyrian states except for that with Pinnes. The cities and tribes concerned appear to have been left in the position of *amici* of Rome without any formal obligations, but tied to her by the *beneficium* of their liberation—an act which imposed on Rome the moral duty of maintaining their liberty and safeguarding their interests and on them that of showing their gratitude in every possible way. This position, with its legal freedom, must at first have

[30] iii 1, p. 302 and n. 98.

[31] *Rome*, p. 105; *CAH* vii, p. 835. There is no evidence on the subject, and it hardly matters.

[32] Dio. fr. 53. His control over the kingdom is shown by events.

[33] V. Fluss, cc. 1140–1.

[34] Zippel (p. 55) believes that the Romans divided the regency between Teuta and Demetrius without destroying the unity of the kingdom; but this far-fetched hypothesis, far from combining our sources, is contrary to all of them. None of our sources says that Teuta continued to rule the Illyrian kingdom after the peace, while Dio states (and Polybius implies) that she did not.

[35] Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 109. None of the various attempts to find formal marks of Roman domination has been convincing. On the ἄρχων ὁ ἐν Κερκύρᾳ (Pol. XXI 32, 6), v. Zippel, p. 94. Even if he is a Roman, he is only a wartime commander. On the Corcyraean coins with the legend ROMA (Grueber ii, pp. 196–7) no final conclusion has been reached; but the magistrate's initials show that they are coins struck by Corcyra on behalf (i.e. probably at the request) of Rome, and not coins struck by Rome at the Corcyraean mint. They were probably struck to pay Roman troops in the East.—On the victoriate coinage, v. Mattingly, H., 'The first age of Roman coinage', *JRS* xxxv, 1945, p. 71; Milne, J. G., 'The problem of early Roman coinage', *JRS* xxxvi, 1946, p. 91 and note 1. The victoriate was not an official Roman coin, and there seems to be no good reason for doubting Pliny's statement that it was first struck in Illyria and thence introduced to Italy (*H.N.* XXXIII 3, 46). (Was the victory that over Teuta? Thus Grueber in vol. i, p. xlix.)

[36] Holleaux, *CAH* vii, p. 836; cf. *Rome*, p. 106, n. 3 (with references to earlier views).

[37] *Die völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der röm. Aussenpolitik in rep. Zeit* (*Klio*, Beih. 31, 1933).

[38] Thus Zippel, p. 89. *Libertas* is attested for Corcyra by App. *Ill.* 8; Strabo VII, fr. 8 (which must belong in this context); Pliny *H.N.* IV 12, 52; for Apollonia by App. *Ill.* 8. That Issa had no treaty is made all but certain by Livy XLV 26, 13.

seemed exceptionally favourable, when compared with the constant sacrifices to which Roman allies in Italy were committed; and indeed, it had first been bestowed upon a few specially favoured cities in Sicily.[39] In the case of the Parthini and Atintanes we may think it a mistake to have relied entirely on moral claims (if such was indeed the case); but in view of what Polybius tells us, we cannot help suspecting that Rome did not particularly care about these or any other Illyrian tribes.[40] As for the Greek cities, the arrangement turned out satisfactory for both sides,[41] and this was no doubt largely responsible for the later decision to extend the policy to Greece proper. The Illyrian protectorate of 228, which we can now, if our presentation has been correct, see in its true shape, marks an important step in the substitution of extra-legal for legal forms of dependence as the favourite method of Roman diplomacy, i.e. in the application of the idea of *clientela*—that nexus of moral obligations between the weaker and the stronger (with the interpretation ultimately in the hands of the latter) which was characteristic of Roman life—in the sphere of foreign policy.[42] The freedom of the Illyrian cities, itself descended from that of a few Sicilian cities, leads directly to the Isthmian proclamation.[43]

This, then, was the result of the First Illyrian War. Roman arms for the first time turned east and acquired for the Republic a footing east of the Adriatic, and at the same time Roman diplomacy, following a precedent set some years before, worked out a system of treating Greek cities which it was to follow, through success and failure, during the period of imperial expansion. At the same time (though we must beware of exaggerating the importance of this) Rome for the first time established diplomatic contact with the Greek homeland: for the victorious consul sent to inform the Greeks of what he had done.[44]

(II)

Having dealt with the Illyrian danger, Rome for several years shows no further interest in affairs east of the Adriatic. If modern scholars believe that her friends there,

[39] The subject cannot be developed here, but a few indications may be given. Cic. 2 *Verr.* III 13 gives the list of *ciuitates liberae* in Sicily in his day; their status, as we see from the Verrines, had deteriorated considerably. Segesta, about which we know most (though the case of Centuripa seems to have been similar), was always treated with special consideration on account of her *cognatio* with Rome, and it seems that she never revolted (*ibid.* V 83 and 125). There is no reason to think that her status was originally considered inferior to that of the Mamertine *foederati* (on which v. Cic. 2 *Verr.* V 50 f.), or that she could not have had the burden of a treaty with formal commitments if she had preferred it. It can be shown that even in the second century friendship without a treaty was considered by the Greeks a status much preferable to a treaty not on equal terms.

[40] This is the inference from Polybius' account (v. n. 24 above and text). Cf. Appendix.

[41] Cf. Holleaux, *CAH* vii, p. 837.

[42] For the extra-legal nature of *clientela*, v. Kaser, M., 'Gesch. d. Patronatsgewalt über Freigelassene', *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-St., Röm. Abt.*, lviii, 1938, pp. 88 f.; for the social and political importance of the concept, Gelzer, M., *Die Nobilität d. röm. Republik*, Leipzig, 1912. Sherwin-White rightly protests against Täubler's misuse of the term *clientela* for a treaty relationship (p. 162); its elusiveness to legal analysis is of its essence in the foreign as in the domestic sphere.

[43] This is worth stressing because (as a consequence of the general lack of interest in Illyria) it is often forgotten, with the result that the development of Roman foreign policy is misunderstood. Thus, e.g., Sherwin-White writes (p. 150): 'The practice of declaring a community to be "free" . . . is one that Rome first learned from the Greeks'; and he describes the settlement of Greece as 'her first experiment'. Täubler (p. 436), followed by many other historians, derives Flamininus' policy from that of Artaxerxes and Polyperchon.

[44] That this act of courtesy had no important consequences is shown by Holleaux (*Rome*, pp. 113 f.). Yet it was Rome's first diplomatic contact with the Greeks (Pol. II 12, 4–8).—The failure to send envoys to Pella should not be made a sign of anti-Macedonian scheming (rightly Holleaux, *l.c.*): it would have been odd to send an embassy to announce to the King of Macedon that the scourge of Greece, his Illyrian ally, had been defeated, and it could only have been regarded as a public announcement of hostility. In the circumstances it is the *absence* of any interest in Macedon that shows Rome's peaceful intentions. If even the outline of our analysis is accepted, it should be clear that at no stage of the war did Rome show any fear of, hostility towards, or indeed interest in, Macedon; and the final step confirms this view.

'though allowed free self-government, . . . remained in entire dependence upon the Republic',[45] this can certainly not have been the opinion of the men and communities concerned. They must have regarded themselves as free, though in friendly relations with their powerful neighbour, who had made no attempt to limit that freedom. The Roman view, however, which by that time they could not have known, was different again: those who had received from Rome the signal *beneficium* of their freedom (and other benefits to boot) were tied to her by bonds that nothing could dissolve, even though they were not those of a contract. The client's moral obligation did not lapse through the patron's additional *beneficium* of neglecting to press his claim. It is this misunderstanding of a peculiarly Roman category of social and political thought (a misunderstanding that was to persist well into the second century and was to have many grave consequences) which underlies the strange events leading to the Second Illyrian War.[46]

Demetrius of Pharus, whatever the extent of his private δυναστεία, succeeded (as we have seen) in taking charge of the Illyrian kingdom, and at first (if we may argue from silence) behaved with sufficient restraint not to attract the attention of his Roman friends or of his Greek enemies. But the continued absence of Roman interest led him to believe that the friendship of Rome was not enough to further his ambitions; and perhaps (as Polybius says) the Gallic invasion of Italy gave him a momentary impression of Roman weakness. Since the settlement of 228, the way to Illyrian southward expansion had been barred by friends of Rome; while eastward expansion, which might have been possible with Roman help or even encouragement, could not be considered in the face of Roman indifference. By helping the Romans against Teuta, he now found, he had achieved his object of gaining control of the kingdom only at the cost of making it hardly worth controlling.[47] Left to himself, he could not hope to restore the power of Illyria. Thus he again turned to the Macedonian alliance, which the war and the death of his namesake of Macedon had broken up. At some time in the late twenties [48] he became the ally of Antigonus Doson, who could do with any help in his struggles for the hegemony in Greece and who was no doubt pleased to regain the alliance his predecessor had formed.[49] This was not an action that Rome would necessarily regard as directed against herself, for she was not at that time interested in Macedon; but the man for whom Demetrius won the battle of Sellasia [50] was deeply in his debt and had learnt the value of Illyrian support. Yet Demetrius continued

[45] Holleaux, *CAH* vii, p. 837.

[46] The sources are again Polybius (III 16, 18–9), Appian (*Ill.* 8) and Dio (fr. 53) — Zonaras (VIII 20 fin.). Polybius' is the only account of any value, though again there seems to be a good source somewhere at the back of Appian. Polybius, as we shall see, is not as good as on the First Illyrian War; his source is generally thought to be Fabius (and indeed, no one else can plausibly be suggested), who gave the official Roman version as shaped by later events; while Polybius' own bias against Demetrius made him unable to show any critical spirit.

[47] We cannot know much about conditions inside Illyria, but it is reasonable to suppose that the power of the King, who was only one dynast among many (cf. Pol. XXI 21, 3), had been seriously weakened by the events of 229–8. Though Demetrius was the King's guardian, strong dynasts (e.g. Scerdilaidas) were his equals and had to be conciliated; this was no doubt the price of their remaining quiet and allowing Demetrius to strengthen the hold of the central authority in the South, which he must have done before devoting his attention to the Parthini and Atintanes (v. below). These two tribes will have occupied his attention for some time, as the *coup d'état* of 219 presupposes long preparation (v. below).—Scerdilaidas in a similar position found the dynasts formidable (Pol. V 4, 3; cf. n. 79 below).

[48] Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 131–2, puts this as early as 225, basing his view on Pol. III 16, 2. Cf. below.

[49] On Doson's fear of Rome, v. Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 119 f. and *CAH* vii, pp. 839 f., and (with considerable exaggeration) Treves' paper in *Athenaeum*.

[50] Pol. II 65, 4; 66, 5 f.; cf. Tarn's evaluation, pp. 760–2. For the date of Sellasia we accept 222 (v. Tarn, pp. 863–4, and—using new evidence—Treves, 1935, pp. 54 f., and Walbank, p. 296, n. 5).

to proceed cautiously: during 221 there is no record of any action by him. Nor does Rome seem to have given him any reason to believe that he was offending her. If he had ever doubted the genuineness of the freedom the Republic allowed its friends, he must now have been convinced of it.

So far we have had no difficulty in accounting for Demetrius' actions. But in 220, if we are to believe Polybius and the consensus of modern opinion, he suddenly went mad and by a series of outrageous acts of aggression against Rome (contrary to his determined, but cautious, policy in the preceding years) brought upon himself Roman intervention and inevitable defeat. It is this series of actions immediately preceding the Second Illyrian War that we must now consider in detail, in the hope of making it more intelligible than it appears in the pages of Polybius. If we succeed, we may also hope to solve some of the difficulties that have baffled scholars about the final settlement following the war.

According to Polybius [51] the danger of a conflict with Carthage had by then become serious and the Senate decided to secure the Roman position in Illyria, especially as Macedon was becoming dangerously strong: Demetrius at the time, contemptuous of Roman strength first because of the Gallic and then because of the Carthaginian danger, had just broken the treaty of 228 by sailing on a piratical expedition far beyond Lissus, and had then made armed attacks on cities in Illyria under Roman protection; [52] in this he had relied on the support of the Macedonian royal house. This short account is, as it stands, quite unacceptable, and Holleaux himself, though he does not question it, recognises some of its weaknesses.[53] The reference to the Gallic War may be defended as giving us the date of Demetrius' first alliance with Doson, although we do not know of any association between the two before 222, and Doson is most likely to have wanted it in or after 224. As a reason for his final 'defection' [54] in 220 it will not do: if Demetrius knew anything about the Gallic War, he must have known its outcome; and if its beginning taught him to despise the Romans, its progress at any time after 225, and especially its end, must have taught him to respect them. As for the Carthaginian danger, we know that by the summer of 220 war was not by any means certain, and there cannot have been any idea (except in the mind of Hannibal) of how dangerous for Rome the war would turn out to be. If Demetrius was indeed relying on Carthage in his rebellion (and why should an Illyrian prince give much thought to the far West?),[55] he would surely have waited until the next campaigning season (as he had waited in 221) in order to see whether war really broke out. Nor can he, at that particular time, have placed much reliance on the royal house of Macedon, where the youth Philip had recently come to the throne and was facing extreme difficulties.[56] Thus Polybius' account of his motives is untenable. But we cannot even agree with the claim of modern historians that Demetrius was simply relying on that lack of interest in the

[51] III 16.

[52] The perfects seem decisive for the chronology. (*Contra* Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 134, n. 4.)

[53] *Rome*, p. 133 f. He has to turn Demetrius practically into a madman (p. 135).

[54] Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 132.

[55] Holleaux's desperate attempts to motivate Demetrius' actions are well illustrated by the following (*CAH* vii, p. 849): 'If, as is probable, the Pharian received prompt advices regarding the news from Spain, he must have drawn favourable auguries from it.'

[56] The exact date of his accession is doubtful, but it was almost certainly some time during 221. On its effects v. Pol. IV 3, 2 f.; 5, 3; 22, 5. By autumn 220, at the latest, the Social War had begun. (V. Pol. IV 13, 6, and cf. Walbank, p. 32.) Yet this is just the time when Demetrius is said to have made Roman action inevitable by attacking the Roman protectorate. That Demetrius did not receive any encouragement from Philip is shown by Fine ('Macedon').

Adriatic or that 'longanimity' towards his own actions which Rome had shown during the preceding years.[57] For he had not so far done anything that can be described as obviously anti-Roman and seems indeed to have cautiously avoided such actions; while now we find him in the same year attacking cities under Roman protection and ignoring a treaty only eight years old—enough to overstrain the 'longanimity' of any power; the sudden complete change cannot be explained without more positive motives. Yet, what is more, he had recently had a demonstration of Roman power and interest very near home—in 221, after their success in overrunning Cisalpine Gaul, the Romans had secured its eastern flank in a victorious campaign against the Histrians. Demetrius could hardly ignore this.[58]

The Polybian account, as expounded by modern historians, requires us, then, to believe that Demetrius, having just observed the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul and Roman operations nearer his own borders in Histria; knowing Roman power as well as anyone east of the Adriatic by his own experience in the First Illyrian War; knowing that at the time Rome had no war on hand (for she had finished in the North and nothing irreparable had been done in the West), but might have a major one within a year or two (for Hannibal had already picked a quarrel with Saguntum); having moreover just heard of the death of his only powerful ally and the accession to the latter's throne of a boy of unknown ability and intentions—that Demetrius chose that precise moment, at which he knew he would stand alone against a great power that was both able and willing to deal with him, for a flagrant breach of a treaty with that power and a series of attacks upon her allies. In modern politics we should be very suspicious of an account accusing a small state of such behaviour at a time that could not have been better chosen as being unfavourable to itself and favourable to its powerful opponent. Yet the evidence in this case consists only in the account of Demetrius' enemy Polybius, based on that of the Senator Fabius. We have seen the failure of this account to explain Demetrius' motives (which it seems to do mainly *ex post facto* and without regard for contemporary probabilities); it is time to scrutinise its statements of fact.

That Demetrius, with the help of Scerdilaidas, sailed beyond Lissus and engaged in some raids in the Ionian and the Aegean (none of them directed against friends of Rome: Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Corcyra, it seems, were carefully avoided, though nearest to home)—that much we must accept; for Polybius in his Greek chapters gives details of their operations.[59] But whether (and for this we have only the word of Polybius, i.e. probably of Fabius) [60] that constituted a violation of the treaty of 228 is a different question. When giving the terms of the treaty,[61] Polybius makes the 'Fahrtgrenze' apply only to Teuta, i.e. (if she signed as Queen-Regent) at the most to the Illyrian kingdom. There is nothing to suggest that the Queen promised (what, as

[57] Thus Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 134 f.; De Sanctis iii 1, p. 324.

[58] Livy (*Per.* 20) and the Livian tradition. Appian (*Ill.* 8) accuses Demetrius of instigating this war—a further development of annalistic apologia. Holleaux (p. 134, n. 1) recognises the effect such an expedition must have had in 'recalling Demetrius to prudence' (i.e. making him aware of Roman power and interest) and for that reason alone rejects the campaign as apocryphal. But a Histrian campaign was a natural consequence of the Cisalpine campaigns (as we see in the second century) and we have no reason for rejecting its authenticity—it is Holleaux's premiss (Demetrius' rebellion) that must go.

[59] Pol. IV 16, 6 f. Note τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Πύλῳ προσμίξαντες (s. 7).

[60] Modern historians tend without question to quote the Polybian passages as conclusive; e.g. Zippel p. 54; Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 105, n. 3.

[61] II 12, 3.

she herself had once said, no Illyrian ruler could hope to perform) that it would apply to every Illyrian in his private capacity. Demetrius' forces, however, were not those of the kingdom, but those of his private δυναστεία; we can see this by comparing their numbers with those under Scerdilaidas and by the very fact that the latter appears on the expedition as the equal of Demetrius.[62] Thus it is doubtful whether the raid did infringe the treaty of 228; and considering the Illyrians' care in avoiding the known friends of Rome, and the fact that Rome at the time had certainly shown no intention of making herself the general protecting power over all the Greeks, it seems very probable that the raiders, at any rate, did not think they were breaking the treaty. Demetrius probably did not see so very much difference between fighting Greeks on land at Sellasia and fighting them from the sea in the Aegean—if the former had not caused Rome any concern, why should the latter? At the most he might expect a rebuke (and an annalist, in building up the story, in fact made the Romans rebuke him first and take action against him only for contumacy);[63] but he had no reason to think that he, who had become Rome's friend by serving her so well only a few years ago and had since then been given no indication that he was not still thus considered, would provoke an immediate attack by Rome's full strength.

The other charge against him was that he was 'destroying and subduing the cities in Illyria subject to Rome'; and the annalist adds that he was doing so 'by abusing the friendship of Rome'.[64] It would be tempting to use this last statement as evidence for the view that Demetrius did not consider himself to be provoking Rome, but on the contrary thought of himself as Rome's watchdog (such as Massinissa and to some extent Eumenes were to be later). But we can only suggest that as a possibility; for the source is too bad to be used with any confidence. However, we have seen how unlikely the Fabio-Polybian picture of his suddenly storming one after another of the cities under Roman protection is made by the historical background. Here again, as in the case of the motives ascribed to him, we have evidence of later manufacture: the phrase τὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ταττομένας can hardly be contemporary (and certainly not contemporary Greek), as the cities and tribes concerned were not theoretically in the position of subjects at all (cf. above), while there had been no evidence during the preceding years that they were practically thus regarded. It was this war that was first to provide such evidence. As it happens, we can probably glimpse the foundations on which this charge was raised; for when Demetrius heard that the Romans were about to attack him (we are told), he put his own faction in power in all the cities.[65] The cities concerned are clearly places not yet under his influence; for in the others, though ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι might exist, his φίλοι would certainly be in charge of the government. Thus we see that what Demetrius had in fact done was to encourage the rise of parties favourable to himself (they may well have been the pro-Roman parties) in the territory of Rome's friends—i.e. among the Parthini and Atintanes[66]—and thus pursue his plan of strengthening his own power without attacking Rome. It is obvious that he had been doing this for some years and did not suddenly start in 220; for by the beginning of 219, at the latest, all was ready for the *coup d'état*. But it was only in 220 that the

[62] Pol. IV 16, 6 f. Note that in III 16 (the version from Roman sources) all mention of Scerdilaidas is omitted.
[63] Dio, fr. 53 = Zon. VIII 20, fin.
[64] Dio, *l.c.*
[65] Pol. III 18, 1.
[66] V. App. *Ill.* 8 for the latter, and cf. p. 79 above. There is no mention of 'attacks' on the Greek cities.

Romans suddenly decided to take notice and charged him with trying to subdue the cities by force—if indeed even the charge was in fact made.

In 220 (as we have seen, the moment most favourable to themselves and least so to Demetrius) the Romans suddenly decided to act. War with Carthage seemed to be at hand, and although they had as many friends in Illyria as they had at one time thought necessary, the most important of those friends had shown that he regarded himself as independent, even if not hostile to Rome. As Polybius implies, he had forgotten his station as a client.[67] But it would not do to have an independent power of some strength on one's eastern flank (the very fear that had brought on the war with Teuta), especially if war was to be waged in the West. It is said that, behind the 'middle power' of Demetrius, Rome feared the great power of Macedon, and it is likely that some far-sighted senators did see this danger. But, despite the statement of Polybius (perhaps again written *ex post facto*) and his modern followers,[68] it was again not a motive for action. For the settlement again shows that Macedon was not the danger against which protection was felt to be needed (v. below), and the years following it confirm this view. Besides, if Rome had indeed thought ἀνθοῦσαν τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν under Doson (when she had taken no action), that can hardly have been her motive for action in 220–19, when his death seemed to have shaken the foundations of his work. The Romans considered only Demetrius and the effect of his example of independence.[69]

Having decided upon action, the Romans prepared to send an expedition and surprise Demetrius. If there was a declaration of war (and we are not told of one), it can only have been a last-minute formality.[70] Demetrius, however, was somehow warned of Roman plans and had some time to take counter-measures. He had seen the failure of Teuta's strategy; besides, there was now no hope of seizing the Greek cities on the coast, as she had tried to do. He thus decided on the opposite plan: he would, if necessary, give up most of his territory, adopting only delaying tactics, and concentrate on the defence of one or two strong places. He had seen the Romans in the field and knew that he could not meet them; but he may not have known their siege tactics (he may even have witnessed a slight reverse, when they attacked a township)[71] and, being a Greek ruling over Illyrians, he no doubt thought very highly of the strength of fortified places. He thus sent a strong force into Dimale—a town near the country of the Parthini and probably not far from Epidamnus [72]—and himself, with 6,000 men specially selected from his own δυναστεία, took charge of Pharus. To give Dimale added protection, it seems, he entrusted the government in the cities of the Parthini to his supporters and removed the opposing faction.[73]

[67] He describes him as ἐπιλελησμένον τῶν προγεγονότων εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργετημάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων (III 16, 2) and gives it as the Romans' intention to secure their position ἐπιτιμήσαντες καὶ κολάσαντες τὴν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπέτειαν τὴν Δημητρίου (*ibid.*, s. 4).

[68] Pol. III 16, 4. Cf. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 136.

[69] Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 136, paints a vivid picture of Roman fears, which must not be uncritically accepted.

[70] This is shown by Polybius' wording (III 18, 1): ἅμα τῷ συνεῖναι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

[71] Nutria (Pol. II 11, 13).

[72] On the situation of this town, v. Zippel, p. 56; Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 135, n. 1. Holleaux is probably right in placing it inland, but wrong in putting it 'dans le pays des Parthini': though associated with them in our sources, it is named alongside of them (v. especially Pol. VII 9, 13) and was probably just outside the tribal territory. Further than this we cannot go. We do not know when Dimale came into Demetrius' power: he may have held it ever since 229–8; he may have brought it under his control at any time after; or he may have seized it as a strong place—it was reputed impregnable (Pol. III 18, 3)—to hold against the Roman attack. There is no evidence to enable us to decide.

[73] Pol. III 18, 1. The cities, as we have tried to argue, must be those not yet under his control, and they were probably those of the Parthini: the Illyrians did not usually dwell in πόλεις (v. Zippel, pp. 86 f., for the sources), but the Parthini are known to have had 'urbes' (Livy XLIII 23, 6).

In the spring of 219 a Roman force (probably again a full consular army and a fleet) under the consuls L. Aemilius Paullus and M. Livius Salinator [74] crossed to Illyria, probably landing at Epidamnus, and at once proceeded to lay siege to Dimale. Roman siegecraft captured the place within a week, and all the other cities in the vicinity thereupon surrendered. With the Parthini again under Roman control, Demetrius' southern territories were cut off at a blow. Ignoring the rest of Illyria, the Romans now sailed straight for Pharus, which they took by a stratagem. Demetrius, giving up hope of further resistance, fled to Philip, who received him kindly. Pharus was razed, Demetrius' οἰκεῖοι removed for internment, and the war was over. Having regulated affairs, the Romans sailed home to celebrate a triumph.

The settlement, this time, was simple. Rome merely retained her old 'friends', and Pharus and Dimale, about which probably nothing was done, remained in the same position of 'freedom'.[75] The fate of Demetrius had taught them their lesson, and the Parthini had to submit to some penalty for their secession. Pinnes was left on his throne, though perhaps ordered to pay an indemnity.[76] There was no desire to increase Roman commitments in the East or to multiply client states. We need not therefore be surprised at Rome's failure to take any measures, aggressive or defensive, against Macedon, at a time when either would have been possible. Though the King of Macedon, only a few months before the arrival of the Roman troops, had visited the dynast Scerdilaidas and made a treaty of alliance with him,[77] there was no suspicion of Philip. It would have been quite easy to cut off Macedon from the coast by extending the protectorate to the area modern historians assign to it as early as 228, or perhaps even to station troops in the Greek cities of the coast. Nor were more active measures (such as support for the Aetolians) beyond the range of the possible, as Philip seemed to be doing rather badly in the Social War.[78] He could certainly not have helped his new ally Scerdilaidas, had the Romans chosen to attack him. But they ignored the dynast: he was not even called to account for that 'breach of the treaty of 228', which was alleged as a pretext for action against Demetrius—unless the very allegation is the work of later apologists. Yet Scerdilaidas, in 220 as 'guilty' as his friend Demetrius and now

[74] Polybius consistently omits Livius, but Zonaras mentions him; and the story about his condemnation after the war is so well attested that it must be accepted (v. Münzer, cc. 892 f.). In the circumstances we cannot discover what action is to be attributed to each of them and whether Livius also triumphed. Why Polybius ignores him is a difficult question; but we have seen that on this war he is not a very good source. Münzer thinks he has done it on purpose in order to flatter the Aemilii Paulli. But, though Polybius is not above some 'interpreting' for such a purpose (cf. his treatment of the great L. Paullus' massacre in Epirus—Livy XLV 34; Plut. *Paull.* 29—which has even misled moderns into attributing the responsibility to the hero's political opponents), we should not lightly accuse him of deliberate falsification of facts. The latter may well be due to his source Fabius, as the Fabii were hostile to Livius (cf. Münzer, c. 895).

[75] Polybius' account is rather sketchy: the Atintanes are not mentioned, but (with the Parthini again friends of Rome) they no doubt returned to their previous status; the Greek cities, it seems, were never deemed to have revolted. For the extent of the protectorate after 219, v. (not quite accurately) Pol. VII 9, 13. Polybius' phrase τῆς λοιπῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος (III 19, 12) probably means that the Romans had the Illyrian king at their mercy.—De Sanctis (iii 1, p. 325, n. 150) rejects Polybius' statement that Pharus was razed. But as it was apparently taken by assault, there is no reason why it should not have been. It was probably resettled after. For Demetrius' οἰκεῖοι, v. Pol. VII 9, 14 (Philip's treaty with Hannibal).

[76] App. *Ill.* 8, fin. Cf. Livy XXII 33, 5. The Parthini and Atintanes no doubt could not pay much and there was no one else from whom the cost of the war could be collected.

[77] Pol. IV 29, 2 f. For the chronology, v. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 142, n. 3. That Philip had no hostile intentions towards Rome is shown by Fine ('Macedon'); but those who make Roman fear of Macedon the main motive for the war cannot regard the Romans as believing this.

[78] Cf. Walbank, p. 42. 'The first round had gone to Aetolia', as Tarn puts it (p. 766). This was by the autumn of 219, just when the Roman army was returning home ληγούσης τῆς θερείας (Pol. III 19, 12).

the ally of the King of Macedon, was (it seems) next of kin and in succession to Pinnes.[79] On the Polybian (as on the 'imperialist') theory of Rome's motives in undertaking the war, her inactivity is inexplicable.[80] But once we recognise the true motive and its historical context, the settlement is its natural consequence: Rome had achieved precisely what she wanted.[81]

(III)

Having achieved what she wanted, Rome again withdrew from the scene. The Senate's main thought was to avoid provoking Philip, and the outbreak and alarming course of the Hannibalic War must have appeared to justify this policy; for the Republic did not want another enemy. This time, however, care was taken not to give the impression that Illyria had been completely forgotten: when Pinnes, perhaps encouraged by the series of Roman defeats, delayed paying an instalment of his indemnity, envoys were sent to collect either the money or hostages for it.[82]

Pinnes is not mentioned again and cannot have lived much longer. Scerdilaidas now becomes King (i.e. the most powerful dynast) of Illyria. He had at first remained faithful to his alliance with Philip and even assisted him in his campaign of 218;[83] but the campaign (as far as Scerdilaidas was concerned) was a failure[84] and Philip's resources were too strained to permit satisfactory payment for the Illyrian's services. The dynast, as he had done once before, decided to help himself. He began to collect his dues by piracy and finally went so far as to invade Macedonian territory and take a few towns in Pelagonia and Dassaretia.[85] It is sometimes thought that Rome must have encouraged these actions.[86] But this is contrary to the whole course of her policy from 219 down to the time when Philip forced her to take action against him. Thus she had done nothing to assist or even encourage the Aetolians, who were his most dangerous enemies, and she did nothing (except where her own interests demanded it) to help Scerdilaidas in the war he had provoked. The Illyrian, we know, did not need

[79] On Scerdilaidas, v. Fiehn. Zippel (p. 59) thinks that the Romans made him guardian of Pinnes! This is rightly rejected by De Sanctis (iii 1, p. 325, n. 152). After 217 (v. n. 76 and text above) Scerdilaidas appears as king. He had probably seized the guardianship after Demetrius' flight, and this was perhaps responsible for the ταραχὰς περὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα πολιδυνάστας (Pol. V 4, 3), which prevented him from sending more than fifteen *lembi* to assist Philip before Cephallenia in 218 (wrongly put in 217 by Fiehn, c. 978). We do not know where Scerdilaidas' δυναστεία was, but it may have been round Scodra (cf. De Sanctis iii 1, p. 322) and Lissus. Scodra, which is not mentioned before, later appears as Genthius' capital (e.g. Livy XLIV 31, 2), while Lissus, which in spite of its strategic importance we do not find connected with either Teuta or Demetrius, is also mentioned as a residence of Genthius (Pol. XXVIII 8, 4; Livy XLIV 30, 6; cf. May, pp. 53 f., for the parallel histories of the two cities). Neither city surrendered to Rome in time to receive favourable treatment (cf. Livy XLV 26, 13 f.). If these two cities were indeed the hereditary δυναστεία of the line of Scerdilaidas, this also furnishes an additional motive for Philip's attack on Lissus (Pol. VIII 13–4; v. p. 90 below).

[80] Thus Holleaux (*Rome*, pp. 139 f.; *CAH* vii, pp. 851 f.) is inclined to blame the Romans for failing to carry out their purpose properly. On his (and Polybius') premisses their action is indeed absurd.

[81] Note that in Philip's alliance with Hannibal the Romans are called κύριοι of the places and tribes concerned (Pol. VII 9, 13).

[82] Livy XXII 33, 5.

[83] Pol. V 4, 3. This is duly stigmatised by Holleaux as another flagrant breach of the treaty of 228 (*CAH* vii, pp. 851–2), and as it comes so soon after the Roman campaign against Demetrius, he is at a loss to explain it. Surely it shows that neither the Romans nor Scerdilaidas (nor, probably, Philip, who at the time was not yet planning to attack Rome) considered the dynast's action a breach of the treaty—any more than his joint operation with Demetrius had been.

[84] Scerdilaidas' contingent is not mentioned after the attack on Cephallenia, which had to be abandoned (Pol. V 4, 13).

[85] Pol. V 95, 1 f.; 101, 1 f.; 108, 1 f. His alliance with Philip had been brought about by the Aetolians' failure to pay him (Pol. IV 29, 5 f.).

[86] E.g. Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 165 f.; *CAH* vii, pp. 854 f.; doubtfully De Sanctis iii 2, p. 398; Walbank, p. 68. Holleaux's chief argument is the statement that Scerdilaidas would not have undertaken military action in the vicinity of the Roman protectorate without Roman permission!

advice on how to collect his debts, and he may have thought (if he considered defeat at all) that Rome could not allow him to be completely defeated. But of direct encouragement by Rome there is no sign, and it would take good evidence to make such a view plausible to the student of Roman policy at this time.

Scerdilaidas' attack failed for a reason he had not foreseen: Philip, informed of Hannibal's victory at Lake Trasimene, patched up a peace with the Aetolians and (under the influence of Demetrius of Pharus) decided to turn all his energy towards the West.[87] Scerdilaidas was the first to feel the effect of his new policy: Philip at once drove him from the territory he had occupied and proceeded to conquer the greater part of Southern Illyria,[88] posting himself firmly on the upper Genusus and Apsus and probably on the shores of Lake Lychnidus. The Romans did not interfere. This encouraged Philip to take a more daring action: building a fleet of 100 *lembi*, he sailed into the Ionian Sea in the spring of 216, intending to land on the Illyrian coast. Polybius seems to imply that he was planning a surprise attack on Apollonia; and this is not impossible, as the capture of that city would have greatly improved his bargaining position in his negotiations with Hannibal. But in view of Roman inactivity during the following year it is likely that at the time his intention was thought to be nothing more than an attack on Scerdilaidas by sea—as perhaps it was. For if he completed the defeat of Scerdilaidas, he would obtain some bridgeheads on the coast outside Rome's sphere of influence, and he had some chance of doing this without Roman intervention: but for the panic he might have succeeded. In the light of the events of 214 those of 216 were bound to be reinterpreted.

Scerdilaidas had thought the coming attack (of which he learnt in good time) directed against himself and hurriedly sent to Rome to ask for assistance: he knew from two wars that Rome would not permit a major power, potentially hostile, to establish itself on the Straits of Hydruntum. The Romans, alarmed by the Illyrian's envoys, but unwilling to commit themselves to war with Philip on the strength of his word, detached a squadron of ten ships from their fleet at Lilybaeum and sent it towards the danger area. The approach of this squadron caused a panic among Philip's fleet and he ingloriously abandoned his expedition.[89] But Rome took no further chances: in 215 the squadron detached to watch Philip was brought up to the strength of twenty-five and assigned to P. Valerius Flaccus, prefect under the praetor Laevinus, with the task of guarding the Calabrian coast; and after Philip's treaty with Hannibal became known, it was reinforced by another twenty-five (or thirty) ships and the praetor was asked to take personal charge of it.[90]

In 214 Philip, now Hannibal's ally, decided to take action against Rome. While Hannibal moved against Tarentum (also entrusted to Laevinus), he, with a fleet of 120

[87] Pol. V 101, 6 f. Cf. Walbank, pp. 64 f.

[88] Pol. V 108, 8—not a satisfactory account. Cf. Zippel, pp. 60 f.; De Sanctis iii 2, pp. 405 f.; Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 167 f.; *CAH* vii, p. 855; Walbank, pp. 68 f.

[89] On these events, v. Pol. V 109–10. Cf. Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 175 f.; *CAH* viii, pp. 117 f.; Walbank, pp. 69 f.—both perhaps too prone to accept Polybius' account, especially of Philip's intentions. It is unlikely that he hoped to occupy the whole Illyrian coast and cross to Italy, at a time when he was not yet the ally of Carthage.—That the Roman squadron ever entered Apollonia (thus Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 179) is unlikely; it probably remained at Brundisium or even Tarentum and was the kernel of Laevinus' force (cf. below).

[90] Livy XXIII 32, 17; 38, 7 f. There is no reason to reject the substance of this annalistic account, though the wording (as so often) is probably that of Livy or an annalist. (E.g. 'primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret' is belied by the facts.) Owing to a slip by Livy or a copyist the number of ships cannot be determined.

lembi, sailed into the Straits of Hydruntum and, having seized Oricum, laid siege to Apollonia. It was no doubt hoped that the double attack would overstrain the Roman defences; for Laevinus clearly could not efficiently guard both Illyria and Tarentum.[91] But the plan failed: Laevinus, at the time still in Italy, sent M. Livius to Tarentum and the city was saved. He himself, after envoys from Oricum had reported the capture of their city and stressed the danger to Rome's ally Apollonia and to Rome herself, set sail for Illyria, where he at once retook Oricum and relieved Apollonia. Philip was forced to burn his fleet and retreat overland.[92] The result of this campaign was to station a Roman fleet permanently in Illyrian waters: Laevinus wintered at Oricum and seems to have remained east of the Adriatic until his successor took over.[93]

Philip's course henceforth was clear: having no chance of seizing the coast, he must subdue the interior and, if possible, drive a wedge between the Roman allies in the South and Scerdilaidas, who was still fighting in the North. This course he pursued during the next two years. Though we have few details, we can to some extent see the result of his operations: he probably secured his position in Dassaretia and round Lake Lychnidus, subdued the Parthini (taking Dimale) and the Atintanes, and, in a brilliant dash across country, took Lissus and its citadel Acrolissus, thus gaining access to the sea and the allegiance of many of Scerdilaidas' subjects.[94] The Romans had now been cut off from Scerdilaidas and his final defeat might seem only a matter of time; and if the Punic fleet showed any enterprise, the Roman allies on the coast would not resist for long.[95]

In the face of this danger the Romans, unwilling to send a large army to Illyria, succeeded in raising the Aetolians against Philip and entered into the famous alliance with them. Thus the war was transformed from a defensive war in Illyria into an offensive war throughout the Balkan Peninsula. Henceforth very little is said about Illyria and the centre of interest shifts to Greece.[96] It was only after the Aetolians had been forced into making peace that a strong Roman army again appeared in Illyria, detached the Parthini from Philip and attacked Dimale. But by now neither side wanted a continuation of the war: in 205 peace was made at Phoenice, and Philip abandoned the Parthini, Dimale and some smaller places, but was (it seems) permitted to retain the Atintanes.[97] Scerdilaidas had meanwhile been succeeded by Pleuratus (who is first mentioned in the Aetolian treaty) and the latter is included in the Peace. How much, if any, of his father's territory was returned to him is unknown. Probably Philip had already had to abandon his outlying conquests (like Lissus), but was allowed to retain those nearer home: if the Romans could not persuade him to give up Atin-

[91] Livy XXIV 20, 9 f.; 40. It is generally asserted (e.g. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 189, n. 1; Walbank, p. 75, n. 4) that Philip's move is subsequent to Hannibal's. There is no authority for this in Livy (who says 'eadem aestate' and implies late summer for both); Philip's action, reasonable on the obvious hypothesis of concerted action with his ally against a very weak point of the Roman defensive system, is without this hypothesis turned into an act of reckless gambling. (Thus, e.g., Walbank, p. 77. Walbank, who admits the principle of concerted action, is misled by his chronology into failing to see its application.)

[92] Livy, *ll.cc.* (last note). It is likely that Laevinus only heard of the attack on Apollonia after crossing to Oricum.

[93] V. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 193, n. 2.

[94] Pol. VIII 13–14b (Lissus, Dassaretae, 'Hyscana'—i.e. Uscana, north of Lake Lychnidus); Livy XXIX 12, 3 and 13 (Dimale, Parthini, Atintanes—for the latter, cf. XXVII 30, 13). The 'Ardiaeans' (Livy XXVII 30, 13) are those north of Epidamnus (cf. Pol. II 11, 10; 12, 2). Zippel's view that Philip penetrated beyond the Naro is untenable and has found little support: we do not even know whether he took Scodra (cf. May, pp. 49 f.). On Lissus, v. n. 79 above.

[95] Cf. Walbank, pp. 81 f., rightly refusing to believe that Philip was hoping to invade Italy.

[96] For the Aetolian treaty, v. Livy XXVI 24 f. The war is discussed in all the standard works.

[97] Livy XXIX 12.

tania, it is unlikely that they made him withdraw from Dassaretia.[98] Roman protection had not proved very effective, and we see the germs of what was to bear bitter fruit in the second century: Rome was coming to regard her 'friends', towards whom she had no treaty obligations, as having no claim to be considered where Rome's own interests were at stake. It was the first step towards regarding them as outposts in the Roman system of defence—holding potential enemies at a distance, but given up without hesitation, when strategy or diplomacy made it advisable. After 196 this view is fully developed.

Meanwhile this was not yet clearly discernible: Rome could claim to be in a difficult position and to have done her best. And in future Roman interests were bound to coincide with those of her Illyrian friends: Philip could not be permitted to make any further gains and, in particular, had to be kept at a safe distance from the coast, where the Romans now for the first time controlled a long and continuous strip of territory. Her Illyrian friends acted as buffers, but as indispensable ones. The Peace of Phoenice marks Rome's first attempt (since she became a great power) to establish a *modus vivendi* with a dangerous neighbour without having either reduced him to impotence or at least thrown him beyond the seas. It was done, as we have seen, by the interposition of buffer states; and in the second century Rome was to apply this new diplomacy to Antiochus. It was the accident (if we may call it such) of the failure of Rome's attempt to live at peace with other great powers that led to the need to subdue them and thus to the establishment of the Roman Empire as we know it. We must finally, therefore, try to see how the policy failed in the case of Philip—i.e. why the Senate, genuinely eager to make peace in 205,[99] five years later forced another war upon both Philip and an unwilling Roman People.

Few subjects in the field of Roman history have been as much discussed as the origins of the Second Macedonian War.[100] Yet no satisfactory explanation has been given. We shall not discuss the various motives historians have assigned to Rome: they range from fear of a navy just defeated in the Aegean to fear of exclusion from Eastern markets; yet few of these hypotheses have satisfied even their authors. We shall only inquire into events in Illyria during the years concerned, and we hope to find at least a contributing motive for Roman action. Unfortunately our view of events during those years is obscured by the attempts of Roman annalists to find a legal and moral (as distinct from a merely political) justification for the war that followed; and it is undeniable that there has been a great deal of distortion and invention. But by careful scrutiny we can perhaps distinguish the outline of what happened.[101]

That Philip occupied some territory in Illyria after the Peace of Phoenice is clearly stated by Polybius and ought never to have been doubted.[102] We do not, however,

[98] Livy, *l.c.* (Cf. XXVI 24, 9, where 'Thracum' can hardly be right.) Cf. May, pp. 49 f. On Pleuratus, v. Lenschau, c. 237.

[99] This is shown by Holleaux, *Rome*, pp. 284 f., and *CAH* viii, pp. 136 f., although not all his arguments are sound.

[100] The most recent discussion is Petzold's; cf. also McDonald and Walbank, 'The origins of the Second Macedonian War' (*JRS* xxvii, 1937, pp. 280 f.), with references to earlier views.

[101] Livy XXX 26, 2 f. and 42, 2 f., gives the annalistic account. Cf. Petzold's study (which must be used with caution). We shall confine our attention to what concerns Illyria.

[102] XVIII 1, 14: Flamininus in 197 demands of Philip τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τόπους παραδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ὧν γέγονε κύριος μετὰ τὰς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ διαλύσεις; which Livy (XXXII 33, 3) translates: 'restituenda . . . loca quae post pacem in Epiro factam occupasset'. This was challenged by Zippel, mainly on the grounds that Philip could not have occupied Roman territory ('römisches Gebiet') without its being explicitly mentioned in our sources (pp. 73 f.); and he suggested that Polybius means 'the territories . . . he

know any details. But we may connect this statement with the annalistic account of attacks by Philip on Roman 'allies' in Greece. It has been pointed out that these attacks may well have taken place in Illyria: there were certainly no such attacks in Greece, and we know the annalistic tendency to make Rome at all times (but especially before the Second Macedonian War) the protectress of the Greeks.[103] This gives us a coherent picture of events. Philip had no doubt felt encouraged by the Roman attitude at Phoenice and had judged that Rome did not want to be involved in fighting in Illyria on behalf of her friends. He could not risk a major invasion: for he had just made peace in order to avoid large-scale fighting, and his main ambitions now lay in the East. But he probably thought that Rome would not act against smaller encroachments supported by diplomatic intrigue.

This put the Romans in a difficult position: they had made peace on fairly disadvantageous terms in order to be rid of the Macedonian war and live at peace with Philip. They did not want to start it again at the time of the decisive effort against Hannibal, merely because of slight Macedonian pressure on the frontiers of their friends. Yet it was clear that those friends could not be left exposed to Philip's new policy: their loyalty was not reliable under such a strain. Thus Rome seems at first to have sent an embassy to complain and investigate; it consisted of C. Terentius Varro (a distinguished consular), C. Mamilius Atellus (a praetorian), and M. Aurelius Cotta. When the embassy did not get satisfaction and saw the dangers of the situation among the allies, Cotta (it is said) stayed behind to organise resistance among them—and prevent defection. In spite of his efforts Philip must have made some progress: perhaps he even succeeded in detaching the Parthini (or at least part of that tribe) from the Roman friendship; for Polybius tells us that after the Second Macedonian War they (or part of them?) were assigned to the kingdom of Pleuratus, after having been under Philip's rule.[104] In any case, it seems, Rome's attempt to keep her friends loyal without defending them against attack or pressure was not wholly successful: Philip was again becoming a dangerous neighbour, probably without giving any just cause for military action, even if Rome had been willing to take it. The Senate, therefore, decided that its policy had failed; if events in Illyria were permitted to take their course, the loyalty of all the friends of Rome (perhaps even of the Greek cities on the coast) might falter and Philip might turn against Rome when it suited him. It was at this moment, with Rome free at last of her Carthaginian enemies, that envoys came from Attalus and the

had acquired after and in accordance with ['nach . . . und gemäss'] the Peace . . .' (e.g. Atintania). This suggestion has been generally followed (e.g. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 278, n. 1; Walbank, p. 103, n. 4; but not De Sanctis iii 2, p. 435, n. 2—unfortunately without discussion). Yet not only is it doubtful whether the Greek as cited can mean this: if we look at the context, it is at once clear that Zippel's interpretation cannot stand. Polybius (*l.c.*) continues: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἀποκαταστῆσαι πάσας, ἃς παρῄρηται μετὰ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος θάνατον. The parallelism, already sufficiently obvious, is stressed by ὁμοίως; and as μετὰ τὸν . . . θάνατον cannot mean anything but 'after (= since) the death of . . .', μετὰ τὰς . . . διαλύσεις must mean 'after (= since) the peace. . . '. There was no 'römisches Gebiet' in Illyria.

[103] Cf. Petzold, *passim*. The account (Livy, *ll. cc.*, n. 101) is sometimes rejected (e.g. Holleaux, *Rome*, p. 278, n. 1). But the names of the envoys are those of historical persons and (though in the state of our knowledge this is not decisive) nothing we know about those persons makes their participation in this mission impossible. Nor is Cotta, who is the hero of the story, the sort of figure around which legends are spun. The mission is accepted in the relevant biographies in *R-E* (s.vv. Aurelius 103, Mamilius 5, Terentius 83); Broughton (*Magistrates of the Roman Republic* i, pp. 313 and 315) is inclined to accept it as based on archival material. It is worth noting that 'ne socii . . . ad regem deficerent' (Livy XXX 42, 5), besides giving us valuable information on Philip's methods, is a naïve admission of Roman motives quite unlike the tendentiousness of annalistic fiction, in which Rome appears as the unselfish champion of the wronged.

[104] Pol. XVIII 47, 12. Zippel's attempt to query this (pp. 77 f.) is unconvincing.

Rhodians, announcing that Philip was in serious trouble in the East and was unpopular among the Greeks, and that they would welcome the alliance of Rome.

E. BADIAN

APPENDIX: ROMAN AIMS IN 229–8

Holleaux's case that the Roman settlement was at least in part determined by fear of Macedon rests on two main foundations: the length of 'continuous coastal strip' and the extension of the protectorate over the Parthini and Atintanes. We hope to have shown that there is no authority in our sources for the coastal strip such as he considers it; but Oricum provides a test case and deserves special comment. Holleaux makes it surrender to the Romans on the strength of Zon. IX 4 and Livy XXIV 40. But Zonaras' evidence, on a point like this, is useless; and the Livian passage (from Polybius?—thus Holleaux and others, with great probability) points the other way. For Livy, reporting the appeals of both Apollonia and Oricum to the Romans for help against Philip, makes the envoys of the former claim that it had been attacked 'quod deficere ab Romanis nollent'; while those of Oricum say that they are threatened 'ob nullam aliam causam nisi quod imminerent Italiae' and ask Laevinus to assist them 'ut . . . hostem haud dubium Romanis . . . arceret'. It seems clear that in these passages Apollonia is, while Oricum is not, thought of as an ally of Rome. This is fully confirmed by Polybius' account of operations in 229, which leaves no room for the establishment of a protectorate over Oricum: it is not mentioned either in what would be its proper place (the crossing of the fleet from Corcyra to Apollonia) or at any other stage of operations; and it was not received *in fidem* at the same time as the Parthini and Atintanes (cf. p. 77 above). Now, as it happens, we know that Polybius was aware of the strategic situation of Oricum (Pol. VII 14d) and is not likely to have omitted it from ignorance. Slight further confirmation may be sought in Philip's treaty with Hannibal (Pol. VII 19, 3): though the enumeration of the protectorate is not complete (Issa is omitted), Oricum was after all of much more importance to Philip than Issa (as his attack on it shows) and its omission is of some significance. It is thus reasonably clear that Oricum did not form part of the Roman protectorate after 228 (or even after 219—for our evidence still applies).

As for the Parthini and Atintanes, they must not be used as a basis for speculation about Rome's hidden motives: Holleaux himself has disposed of the more extravagant views (*Rome*, pp. 109 f.); but the criticism applies even to his own view (put more strongly by Carcopino, p. 57) that Rome was guided by fear of, and hostility to, Macedon. There is no justification for speaking of a 'mainmise de Rome sur l'Atintania' (*Rome*, p. 109): the Romans ignored Atintania and made no attempt to penetrate into the interior along the Aous. It was only when envoys from the Atintanes came and asked for Roman friendship (at a time when there can have been no military pressure on them) that the consul decided to grant them this favour. In this he may well have been influenced by their strategic situation: after Scerdilaidas' invasion of Epirus he must have been aware of the importance of the Aous-Drynon gorges (on which v. Walbank, pp. 148 f.) as the invasion route from Illyria to the south. But there is nothing whatever to show that he thought of the Aous as the invasion route from Macedonia to the west, or that he even knew sufficient geography to do so. (Holleaux has to refer to Roman interest in the region in 209!) The Romans will have been under no illusions as to the difficulty of securing the fidelity of the Atintanes without control of Chaonia, the coastal strip on which their territory bordered. The fact that they made no attempt to gain control of it, although the Epirots had been the allies of Teuta, suggests that they did not care very much. As a result, the Atintanes soon came under Demetrius' influence (v. p. 79 above).

There is thus no support whatever for the view that the Romans in 229–8 tried to take precautions against Macedon. We have offered a simpler alternative explanation of their policy in the text.

ARAE PHILAENORUM AND AUTOMALAX

(Plates XVIII, XIX)

FROM antiquity down to the present century the shores of the Greater Syrtis (the modern Gulf of Sidra) have had the ill fame of constituting the most desolate and inhospitable part of the Mediterranean seaboard. Absence of landmarks, scarcity of water, and abundance of venomous serpents are all attested by the ancient writers, who spared no pains to paint as terrifying a picture as possible of this unhappy region. The child-devouring Lamia did well to select as her residence a cave in this very area, somewhere not far west of *Automalax*.[1]

Yet where horror is greatest there will heroism shine the most brightly, and we may recall that the Syrtic Gulf was the scene not only of the epic marches of Ophellas and of the younger Cato,[2] but also of the supreme sacrifice of the Philaeni brothers,[3] who gave their lives to secure for Carthage a favourable eastern frontier against the rival claims of Cyrene, and whose tombs later served to mark the political and cultural boundary between the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire.

From the promontory of *Cephalae* (Cape Misurata) on the west to that of *Boreion* (Ras Taiúnes) on the east, the Syrtis is 425 kilometres wide across the chord, and 740 kilometres long around the arc, but its shores are not so uniformly desolate as some recent commentators [4] have implied. On the contrary, a 100-kilometre strip, of which the modern town of Sirte (ancient *Macomades*) is the centre, enjoyed sufficient rainfall during the Roman period to permit intensive cultivation, and is still an important grazing area to-day. Bleak desert, in the strictest sense of the word, occurs only between Misurata and Buerat, and again, at the very bottom of the gulf, between Nofilia and Agedabia. It is with the second of these two desert areas that we are here concerned.

The nineteenth-century travellers, who were the first modern Europeans to follow the Syrtic land-route, have left a picture of this region not unlike that of the classical authors. Dr. Paolo Della Cella,[5] who accompanied the Pasha of Tripoli's army to Cyrene in 1817, wrote of extensive sand-dunes at the bottom of the gulf, and feared lest the Pasha's troops should suffer the same fate as the ancient Psylli and be overwhelmed by mobile dunes: it is clear, however, that his imagination was stronger than his sense of geographical accuracy. The Beechey brothers, who followed the same route four years later, left a very much more balanced description of the terrain, and pointed out some of the absurdities of Della Cella's narrative; but they agreed, at least, that the zone was bleak. 'We had now arrived', they wrote, 'at the most southern point of the Gulf of Syrtis, and few parts of the world will be found to present so truly desolate and

[1] Diodorus xx, 41. There are in fact no known caves in the area in question.

[2] Diodorus, *loc. cit.* for Ophellas; Plut. *Cato Minor*, 56.

[3] Sallust, *Jug.* 79, where the featureless character of the terrain (*neque flumen neque mons erat*) is exaggerated.

[4] Professor Cary, in his *Geographical background of Greek and Roman history* (Oxford, 1949), p. 219, dismisses the Syrtica with the statement that 'a 500-mile strip of desert separates Cyrenaica from the coastal oasis of Tripolitania'.

[5] P. Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli di Barberia* (Genoa, 1819), p. 90.

wretched an appearance as its shores in this neighbourhood. Marsh, sand, and barren rocks alone meet the eye and not a single human being, or a trace of vegetation, are to be met with in any direction. . . '.[6] As recently as 1930, a young Danish traveller, attempting to follow the coast by car, was saved from an unenviable fate only by the intervention of one of the scattered Italian garrisons.[7]

All this was changed in 1936 by the construction, at vast expense, of Marshal Balbo's 'Litoranea Libica', a bitumenised road which enables traffic to flow swiftly and safely through the Syrtic area; and in the war years 1940–43 the number of human beings who traversed the region on military duty probably exceeded the total traffic of the previous millenium. The classical horrors of the Gulf could not survive this revolution, but land-mines and barbed wire took the place of the Lamia and the serpents. Even to-day, nine years after the end of fighting in Libya, war-time explosives in the area of El-Agheila and Marsa Brega take a heavy toll of life and limb among the Bedouin and their herds.

Of the ancient settlements recorded by the classical geographers as having been situated in this part of the gulf, two stand out as of particular interest and importance: *Arae Philaenorum* and *Automalax*. Their sites have hitherto been a matter of speculation and conjecture; but it is now possible, as a result of the Map of Roman Libya expeditions of 1950–51, to produce more concrete evidence for their exact location.

I. ARAE PHILAENORUM

The 'Altars of the Philaeni', traditionally erected by the people of Carthage in honour of their two young heroes, occupy a considerable place in classical literature. The evidence of the texts relating to them has been fully discussed by Windberg in the *Real-Encyclopädie*,[8] and need not be re-examined in detail here. Windberg's topographical conclusions are, however, confused and misleading, since he attempts to identify the anchorage of *Arae Philaenorum* with the harbour of *Aspis* [9] (which lay some 300 kilometres farther to the west), and at the same time accepts as ancient the boundary-cairns of relatively recent date that the Beecheys saw near Mugtáa.[10]

The testimony of ancient geographers for the site of *Arae Philaenorum* is, however, remarkably clear and consistent; and no less than three sources (The *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, the Antonine Itinerary, and the Peutinger Map) give measurements that seem free from serious corruption. The only major complication lies in the fact that *Automalax*, well-attested in the Greek sources, is replaced in the Roman itineraries by an *Anabucis*, which was either on the same site or within a few miles of it: this problem will be discussed later (pp. 103–107). But all sources agree that the 'Altars' were situated some 35 kilometres (M.P. XXV = km. 37; 185 stades = km. 33) to the west of *Automalax-Anabucis*, which was itself at the very foot of the Gulf.[11]

Muller, whose edition of the *Stadiasmus* [12] offers the most recent scholarly study of

[6] H. W. and F. W. Beechey, *Proceedings of the expedition to explore the northern coast of Africa* (London, 1828), p. 210.

[7] Knud Holmboe, *Desert Encounter* (London, 1936), pp. 95–176.

[8] *RE* xix, 2098, s.v. 'Philaenorum Arae'.

[9] The evidence of the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* shows clearly that *Aspis* lay near the modern Buerat el-Hsun, west of the town of Sirte, the ancient *Euphranta* or *Macomades*.

[10] H. W. and F. W. Beechey, *loc. cit.*

[11] Strabo ii, 123; xvii, 836.

[12] C. Muller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (Paris, 1882), i, 456–7; and Tab. XX.

the problem, assumed (no doubt rightly) that the important wells of Maaten Bescer represent the Ἀμμωνίου Πηγάς of the *Stadiasmus*; and by measuring westward on the best maps then available, he sited *Automalax* at the seaward end of the *sebcha* (salt-marsh) of Mugtáa, and the ἀκρωτήριον of *Arae Philaenorum* at the small headland called to-day Ras Lanuf. He recognised, however, that the evidence of the road-itineraries suggested a site further to the east, and he therefore marked a second *Arae Philaenorum* close to the small promontory of Ras el-Aáli.

It was the Ras Lanuf site that commended itself to the Italian builders of the

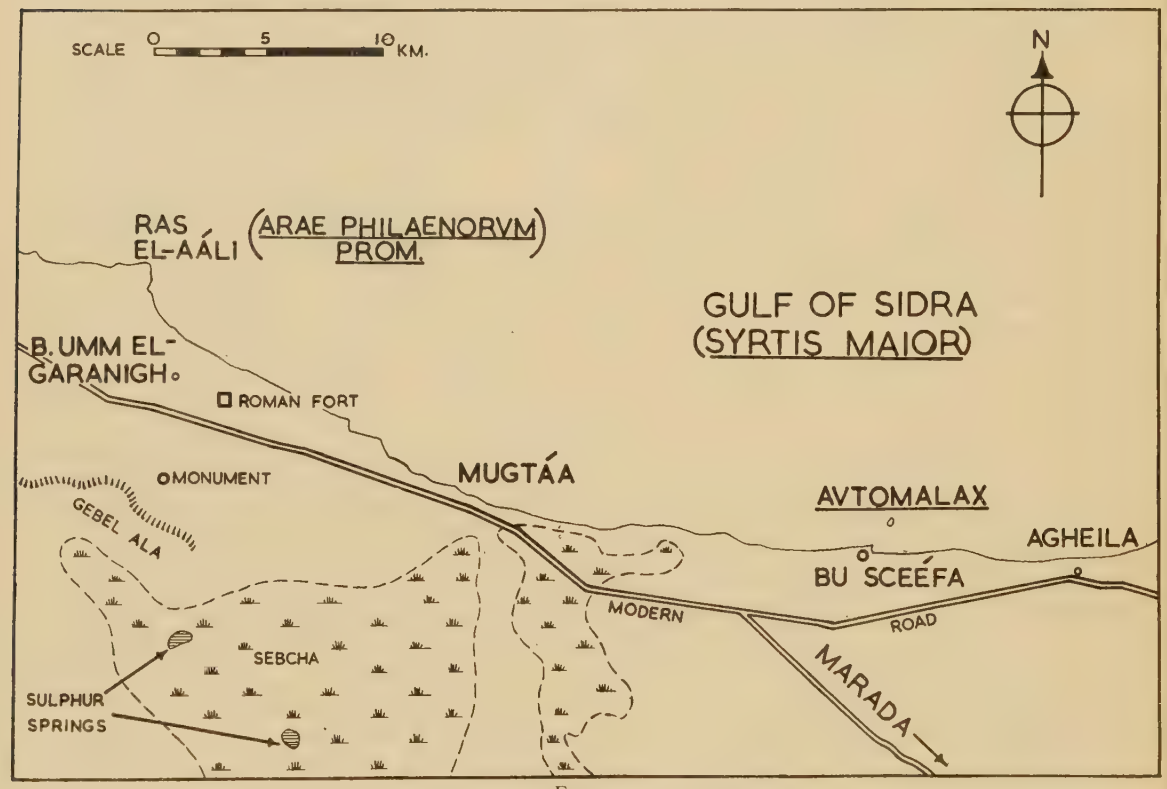


FIG. 1.

imposing 'Arch of the Philaeni', erected by order of Marshal Balbo in 1936 to commemorate the completion of the new coast road. The arch itself, which British soldiers nostalgically dubbed 'Marble Arch', bears colossal bronze figures of the Philaeni brothers; and a small travertine 'shrine' built near by is inscribed with Sallust's description of their sacrifice, and with a note stating that this was the 'traditional' site of their burial place. There are, however, no ancient remains of any significance at 'Marble Arch', and we may suspect that the choice of site was influenced by a desire that the Arch should be visible from a long distance.[13]

[13] The official description of the Italian coast-road and its arch (*La strada litoranea della Libia*, Mondadori, 1937) states (p. 134): 'A pochi passi dell'Arco eretto sulla Litoranea, sono infatti gli avanzi di antichissimi ruderi, che hanno la forma di tomba, entro la quale una tradizione mai interrotta, dal periodo preromano ad oggi, vuole

The accurate maps and charts that are available to-day show that Muller's uncertainty sprang largely from the defects of the cartography of his times. If we follow his own method, and measure westwards from Ἀμμωνίου Πηγαί at Bescer, we find that the site of *Automalax* (180 stades) falls a little west of Agheila, close to the reef of Bu Sceéfa, whilst the promontory of *Arae Philaenorum* (185 stades) coincides with that of Ras el-Aáli. Thus the evidence of the *Stadiasmus* is, in fact, perfectly compatible with that of the road-itineraries, and Ras el-Aáli must be preferred to Ras Lanuf.

We can, however, check this conclusion in a manner that was not possible to Muller —by measurement eastwards from the road-station *Tugulus* (Ant. Itin.) or *Tagulis* (Peut.). Until the present century there was no convincing evidence of the site of this place, and Muller wisely refrained from speculation. Ancient remains have, more recently, been reported at Gasr Haddadía, at Kilo 670 of the modern road, and a visit to this site in 1950 showed it to be a small hill liberally scattered with Roman pottery and crowned by a small early Islamic fort. An air photograph (pl. XVIII) taken by the R.A.F. in 1951 revealed what was not apparent on the ground—the outline of a Roman camp some 60 metres square, one of the largest in the Syrtic region.[14] Assuming, as we must, that Gasr Haddadía is the site of *Tugulus*, a distance of M.P. XXV eastward brings us to the neighbourhood of Ras el-Aáli, and to the *Banadedari* of the Antonine Itinerary, which scholars have agreed in identifying with *Arae Philaenorum*.[15] The Peutinger Map, which gives the latter place-name in its more usual form, shows this distance as M.P. XXX, but a corruption of the final figure from V to X is probably to be inferred.

It may be said, therefore, that Ras el-Aáli has far stronger claims than Ras Lanuf to be the approximate site of the famous 'Altars', and study of the purely archaeological and topographical evidence reinforces these claims. First, it may be noted that the sheltered bay of Ras el-Aáli was selected in 1940 by the Italians for the loading on to coastal vessels of minerals from the oasis of Marada, and has near it the slightly brackish well of Bir Umm el-Garanigh.[16] It therefore answers the description of the *Stadiasmus* as a 'good summer anchorage with water'. Second, although no ancient remains have yet been reported on the actual promontory (the suspected presence of land-mines discouraged a close investigation in 1951), there are two notable ancient sites in the immediate vicinity (fig. 1).

The first of these, 2·5 kilometres east of Bir Umm el-Garanigh, is a small Roman fort conspicuously placed on a low ridge, which runs parallel to the sea. It is, beyond doubt, the 'Ruin' which the Beecheys marked on the map,[17] but to which they do not refer in their text. Measuring 35 × 32 metres externally, it has dry-built walls 2 m. wide, of untrimmed local stone. An entrance gateway in the centre of the landward

siane stati sepolti i fratelli Fileni.' There is no other evidence of this remarkable 'tradition', nor of any ancient tomb near the site of 'Marble Arch'. The only archaeological feature visible to-day is a rough field-boundary wall, of a type to be encountered throughout the Syrtic region.

[14] I am indebted to Group Captain J. C. Larking, D.F.C., of Air Headquarters, Malta, for air photographs of this and other Syrtic sites. The identification of *Tugulus* with Gasr Haddadía was first made by Cerrata in his *Sirtis* (Avellino, 1933), p. 220, in which the Roman and early Islamic remains are not differentiated.

[15] Windberg, *RE* xix, 2098, where *Banededari* is accepted as a Libyan form of the place-name, and not as a corruption from a Greek or Punic name.

[16] The wells between Nofilia and Bescer are all more or less brackish, but they are none the less used by the local bedouin, whose palates are less sensitive than those of Europeans.

[17] H. W. and F. W. Beechey, *op. cit.*, frontispiece.

(SW) side, gives access to the interior, in the centre of which there seems to have stood a building. The remains [18] are, however, too encumbered with sand and rubble to reveal any plan. On the slopes of the hill outside the gateway much pottery is scattered, and some fragments of good-quality undecorated 'sigillata' ware were found in 1951, including one potter's stamp: **S.M.F.** This stamp is common in the Mediterranean area (J. H. Iliffe, *Quart. Dept. Antiq. Palestine*, ix (1942), p. 54), and has been found in Africa (*CIL* viii, 10479, 32); it is well represented at Pompeii (*CIL* x, 8055, 25a) and cannot be later than the first century A.D.

The second site, six kilometres from the coast, lies due south of Bir Umm el-Garanigh, and in a slight hollow close to the northern escarpment of the Gebel el-Ala. This *gebel* (mountain) is an elongated plateau, seven kilometres in length, the outline of which is broken by two slight rises towards its centre. Its southern slopes fall away into the western extremity of the great salt-marsh, Sebcha Mugtáa or Chebira, in which are situated the sulphur springs of Ain Umm el-Gelúd, Ain Rabaia, and Ain el-Brághi.

In this hollow, appropriately named Gráret Gser et-Trab ('the hollow of the little earth-castles'), there are impressive ancient remains, which the Beecheys, travelling closer to the coast, did not encounter. The credit for their discovery belongs to an Italian officer, Capt. Luigi Cerrata, who published a brief description, with photographs, in his monograph on the Syrtica.[19] On the basis of his observations, and of those made during the Italian 1/400,000 geographical survey, the site is marked as "Arae Philaenorum" on some maps; but no accurate description of these ruins has hitherto been published.[20]

The remains at Gráret Gser et-Trab (fig. 2) consist of four well-defined structures, and of a number of scattered wall-foundations and stones indicating a small village community. Of the four main structures, two are probably Roman, whilst the other two are evidently later and incorporate re-used architectural elements of the Roman period (pl. XVIII).

The building A, of which only the north-west corner stands above ground-level (pl. XIX, 3), is of rubble masonry solidly concreted with a mortar containing a high charcoal content, and pointed with a finer white plaster. The walls are 0·75 metres wide, and the surviving corner has large quoins of white limestone, rather imperfectly squared. The south and east walls appear to have fallen outwards, and some large blocks, now lying flat, indicate a doorway in the centre of the east wall. A stone base stands against the inner face of the west wall. The building seems originally to have consisted of a room, 6 × 8 metres internally, fronted on the east by a masonry platform extending eastward for another 10 metres. There are, however, traces of other walls running southwards

[18] The ancient sites of the Agheila and Bir Umm el-Garanigh areas were visited during the 1951 field campaign of the Map of Roman Libya Committee. Transport and other amenities were generously provided by the British military authorities at Headquarters Cyrenaica District. I am especially indebted to Lieut. A. Weston-Lewis, 16/5 Lancers, and to 2/Lieut. G. Carpenter, R.E., who accompanied our party; and to my archaeological assistants, Messrs. R. M. Bradfield, V. Hancock, D. Strong, and D. Smith. The last-named has kindly allowed me to reproduce his photographs (pls. XVIII, 2; XIX, 1).

[19] Cerrata, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–9. The importance of this discovery appears to have escaped the attention of the builders of 'Marble Arch' who, as we have seen, selected a site near Ras Lanuf as the 'traditional' burial-place of the Philaeni.

[20] Cerrata's account is vague, especially as regards the character of building A, and the period of buildings C and D. Although the latter are patently post-Roman, he thought that they represented the two structures shown on the Pentinger Map.

from the main structure, and the building may have been more complex than appears at first sight; yet the superficial resemblance to a small rural shrine is striking.[21]

Building B, parallel to and north of A, is a simple rectangle of mortared rubble masonry, plastered externally and measuring 2·60 × 5·20 metres. It could have been a subsidiary shrine or altar.

Buildings C and D, farther to the north, contain the architectural elements that make the site noteworthy. C is a dry-built strip building, of rubble masonry, entered by two doorways from an outer enclosure composed entirely of re-used column drums,

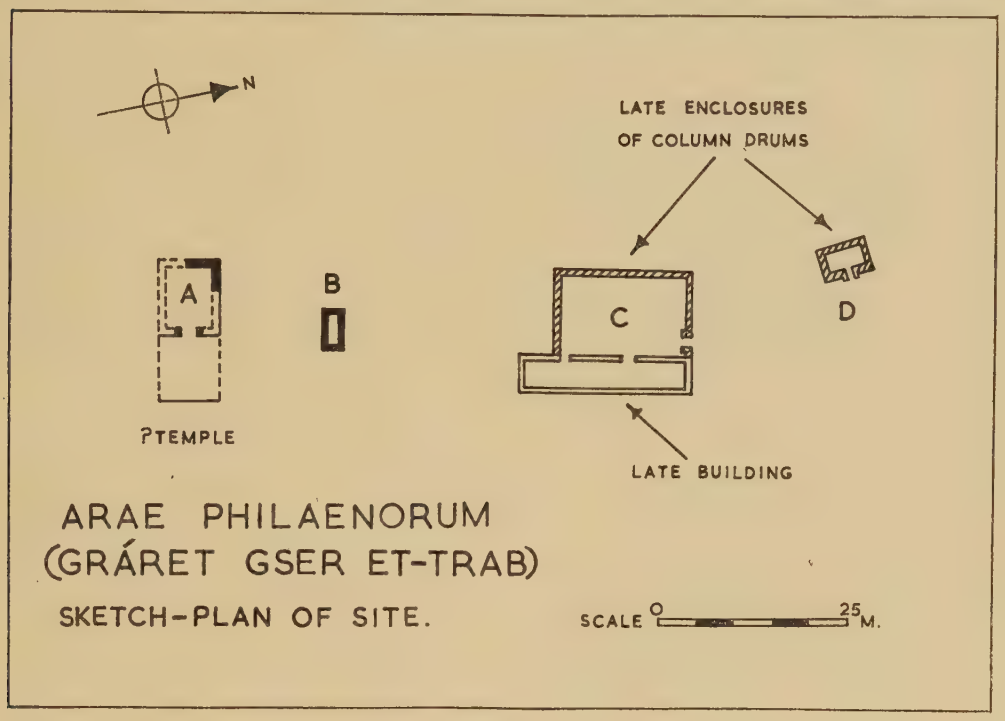


FIG. 2.

bases, and capitals. This enclosure is entered by a doorway on the north, which, like the other two doorways, has large monolithic jambs. D is a much smaller enclosure formed of column drums only, and with a doorway on the east.

The architectural elements incorporated in C and D are as follows:

Four Corinthian capitals; each 70–90 cm. in bottom diameter and about 1·00 m. high.

Four base drums, including base mouldings and part of shaft. Diam. 1·10–1·20 m.; ht. 0·56–0·66 m.

Three top drums, with remains of astragal. Diam. 0·72–0·92 m.; ht. 0·38–0·44 m.

Forty-two plain intermediate drums. Diam. 0·75–1·10 m.; ht. 0·46–0·60 m.

[21] Very few rural shrines have hitherto come to light in Libya. The small sanctuary of Jupiter Ammon, at Ras el-Haddagia in Tripolitania (*P.B.S.R.* xix (1951), pp. 51–56) may be cited as a parallel.

It is evident that no more than *four* columns are represented by these elements, and that one top drum and an indeterminate number of intermediate drums are missing. One of the latter, damaged and abandoned by the constructors of the late enclosures, lies in the sand some fifty metres to the west of the site; but there seems no reason to suspect that many others are buried or destroyed. If we assume an equal number of intermediate drums for each column, their total would be 44, or perhaps 48. Taking the former figure, we may easily arrive at the minimum original height of the columns to which the drums belonged. It must have been in the neighbourhood of 6·85 metres, or, including the capitals, 7·85 metres (fig. 3).

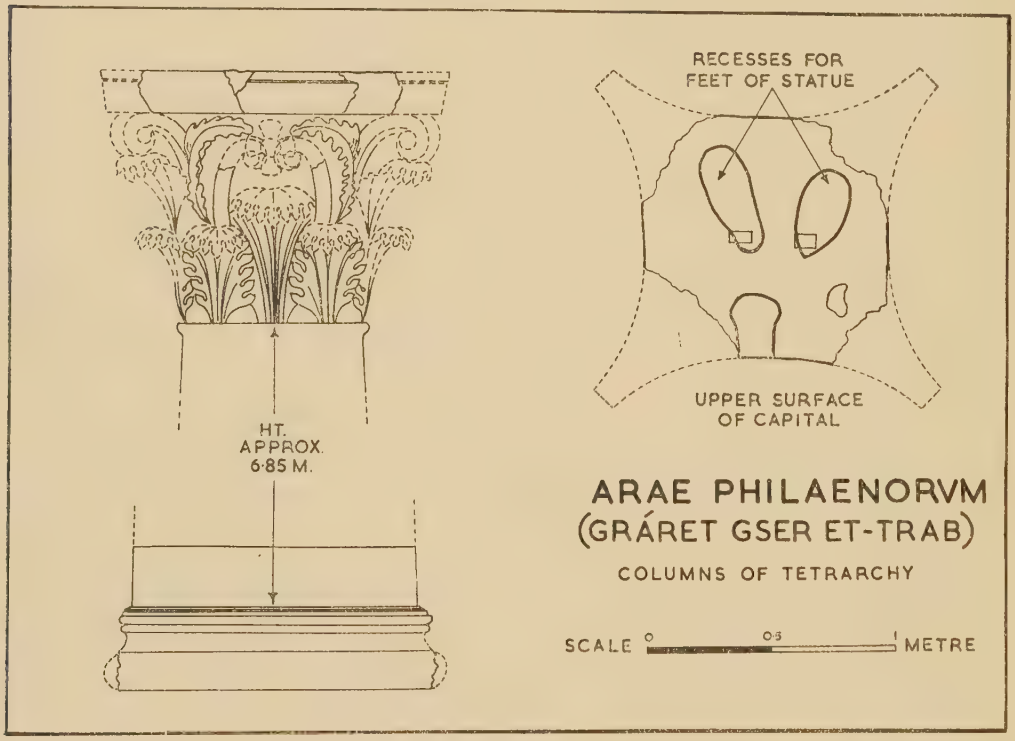


FIG. 3 (based on a drawing by Donald Strong).

Where did these four lofty columns stand, before they were dismantled to form the late enclosures? No bases are visible, and the problem cannot be resolved without excavation; but the following points may be noted:

(*a*) The astragal and base moulding of the drums have been deliberately trimmed, showing that they were rolled a little distance to their present site. They are unlikely, therefore, to have come from a structure on the site of buildings C and D.

(*b*) Whilst they could well have come from A, their proportions are far too large for them to have formed a portico fronting that building, the walls of which could hardly have stood as high as 8 metres. They could, conceivably, have stood as a free-standing tetrapylon monument on the platform fronting the east side of A.

(*c*) The complete absence of any elements of an architrave, a pediment, or of pilaster responds, makes it difficult to interpret the columns as embodied in a structure.

(*d*) Each of the capitals has, in its upper surface, a pair of oval recesses, splayed outwards, as though to receive the feet of a statue, and backed by a single recess as for a vertical support.

These circumstances seem to justify the conclusion that the columns were free-standing and supported statues (probably of bronze) which have since disappeared. Statues of whom? If of the Philaeni brothers, one would have expected two statues rather than four, since the unsuccessful and anonymous Cyrenaean rivals of the Philaeni are hardly likely to have been honoured.

A solution seems to be provided by fragmentary inscriptions cut on the stucco coating of two intermediate drums, and still visible today. There can be little doubt, in fact, that other drums, now three-quarters buried in the sand, will be found to bear inscriptions if they are eventually moved. Discussion of the two visible texts is relegated to another place (see Appendix), but it will suffice to say that the earlier inscription is a dedication to the emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284–305), and that the second one, though incomplete, appears to record frontier demarcation by a *praeses* (pl. XIX, 1).

If the first inscription is, as would seem most likely, a dedication to the emperor in whose honour the column was erected we need have little hesitation in concluding that the four columns supported statues of the four Tetrarchs; Diocletian and Maximian, *Augusti*; Constantius and Galerius, *Caesares*. The fact that one top drum has a diameter of only 0·72 m., in contrast to 0·90 m. for the other two surviving top drums, may even indicate that the two *Caesares* stood, as befitted their junior rank, a little lower than the *Augusti*.

Honorific columns have been found marking Roman frontiers in Syria, the most notable example being that of Kheubert el-Bilaas, published by M. Schlumberger. On this latter site the frontier column, marking the Palmyrene border, supported two statues, of Nerva and Trajan, back to back.[22] Since these frontier monuments are rare, it is hardly surprising that no example has hitherto been found of four such columns dedicated to the emperors of the Tetrarchy. There are, however, in the Roman fort at Luxor, two groups of four columns, each group marking a street intersection. Their inscribed bases show that one group was dedicated to Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius in A.D. 300, and the other to Maximian, Licinius, Constantine, and Maximinus in 308–9.[23] A similar group of four columns, but supporting statues of the Four Evangelists rather than of emperors, stood in the main colonnaded street of Ephesus.[24] Although the tetrastyle monument of Gráret Gser et-Trab stood detached, and not at any street-intersection, there need be little hesitation in accepting it as erected under the Tetrarchy to mark the frontier between the Dioceses of

[22] D. Schlumberger, 'Bornes frontières de la Palmyrene', *Syria*, XX (1939), p. 43.

[23] P. Lacau, 'Inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, xxxiv (1934), pp. 17–46. Cf. U. Monneret de Villard in *Archaeologia* ,XCV (1953).

[24] *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1906), I, pp. 132–40. The Ephesus columns appear to have been erected in the Christian period, but it may be conjectured that in other instances columns of the pagan Tetrarchs may have been re-dedicated to the Evangelists after the triumph of Christianity.

Africa and the Orient, and between the newly established provinces of Tripolitania and Libya Pentapolis.

Whether the columns and their capitals actually belong to the period of Diocletian is more obscure. On the top of the capital illustrated (pl. XIX, 2; fig. 3), two earlier mortice holes can be seen underlying the larger recesses cut for the feet of the statue. These, and similar holes in the other capitals, suggest that the columns did originally support an architrave before they were adapted to receive the statues of the Tetrarchs. It is unlikely, however, that this earlier phase of their service took place at the foot of the Syrtic Gulf. More probably the columns and capitals were taken from some pre-existing building in the Pentapolis and shipped to Arae Philaenorum for their new function. Their stone is certainly not local, and closely resembles that found in the ancient cities of *Tauchira* (Tocra) and *Ptolemais*.

The date at which the four columns were dismantled and their elements used to form the enclosures C and D cannot be determined without excavation. The narrow building to which enclosure C is attached, thus providing an open forecourt, could equally be of Byzantine or of early Islamic date. Although this part of the Syrtica seems to have been even more sparsely populated in the medieval period than in Roman and Byzantine times, the small early Islamic fort at Gasr Haddadía shows that constructional activity was not entirely lacking after the Arab invasion. That the columns were pulled down in order to obtain the (presumably bronze) statues which they supported seems inherently probable: it is unlikely that the toil of demolition would have been undertaken merely to make use of the drums and capitals in a structure of such crude type. It may be mentioned, by way of analogy, that the modern bronze statues of the Philaeni, at 'Marble Arch', have been mutilated by souvenir-hunters and metal-robbers, and will—if conditions of public security deteriorate in this desolate region—go the same way as those of the Tetrarchs.

The area of Ras el-Aáli presents, therefore, three features that are consistent with its identification as *Arae Philaenorum*: (1) a promontory and safe anchorage, as recorded by the ancient sources; (2) a Roman fort, not later than the first century A.D., guarding the well of Bir Umm el-Garanigh, and perhaps serving as a police and customs post on the boundary; (3) a village, 6 kilometres inland, containing a probable temple, and an impressive frontier monument. As regards this third feature, it may be recalled that Ptolemy mentions specifically a 'village of the Philaeni', whilst Scylax refers to a temple of Ammon at or near the 'Altars'.[25]

All that is lacking, from the archaeological viewpoint, is any trace of the 'Altars' erected by the Carthaginians to their heroes; and this is hardly surprising when we recall Strabo's statement that the 'Altars of the Philaeni no longer remain, yet the place has taken on the appellation', and Pliny's rather enigmatic remark that these Altars were 'made of sand'.[26] There is, indeed, plenty of sand at Ras el-Aáli, but its main concentration is in the form of a narrow ridge of dunes immediately behind the sea-shore:

[25] Ptolemy iv, 3, 4; C. Muller, *Geographi Graeci minores* (Paris, 1882), i, 85 (*Scylacis periplus*, 109). The text of Scylax is corrupt, and is uncertain whether ἁλοῦς should be read as ἅλσος. It is clear, at least, that there was a sanctuary of 'Syrtic Ammon' in the neighbourhood of Arae Philaenorum. Were it not for the remains at Gráret Gser et-Trab, one might prefer to site it at Maaten Bescer where there were the Ἀμμωνίου Πηγάς recorded in the *Stadiasmus*.

[26] Strabo iii, 171; xvii, 836. Pliny, *H.N.* V, 4 (*ex harena sunt hae*).

in the plains between the sea and the Gebel el-Ala there are no dunes, and in such a wind-swept area no one in his right senses would pile up mounds of sand to mark the graves of heroes.

What Pliny probably meant to imply was that the 'Altars' were natural features, and not man-made: sand would have suggested itself to him as the most likely element in the Syrtic region. We must therefore consider if some conspicuous geographical feature could have suggested 'Altars' to the mariners and land travellers of antiquity. The small promontories of Ras Lanuf and Ras el-Aáli are low and almost indistinguishable, and without the help of a 'Mariner's Guide' like the *Stadiasmus*, they would be difficult to identify from either land or sea. But a more imposing landmark is not lacking. The frontier monument of Arae Philaenorum stood, as we have seen, close to the foot of the Gebel el-Ala, which the Beecheys aptly described as a 'remarkable table-land'. In this region of marshes and coastal dunes the Gebel catches the eye of every land-traveller, and must appear equally prominent to the crews of coasting vessels, provided they are sufficiently far off-shore to see over the top of the intervening dunes. Is it too much to suggest that this conspicuous plateau, its silhouette broken by two natural rises, gave birth to the legend of the 'Altars'? Or did the Philaeni really elect to be buried in the one place where nature had already provided a marker for the limits of Carthaginian expansion? [27]

II. AUTOMALAX

The problem of *Automalax* is closely linked with that of *Arae Philaenorum*. Whereas the latter site marked the limit of Carthaginian expansion into the Syrtica, the former became the effective western boundary of Ptolemaic Cyrenaica. At one period, it is true, the Cyrenaican boundary was pushed forward westward to *Turris Euphranta* [28] (the later *Macomades*, modern Sirte), but this seems to have been an ephemeral change, and it is *Automalax* that is named, together with *Catabathmus* (Sollum), on the famous *Diagramma* [29] of Ptolemy I, defining the frontiers and constitution of the Cyrenaican state. Other classical sources support *Automalax*, rather than *Turris Euphranta*, and it may be noted that the archaeology of the Syrtica links the area of Sirte with the Punic rather than the Greek sphere of influence.[30]

Logically, one would have expected *Arae Philaenorum* to have been accepted as the boundary of Cyrenaica, and during the Roman Empire this seems to have been the case; but previously the Cyrenaeans evidently found it convenient to place their frontier a little further east, leaving a 'no-man's-land' between themselves and the Carthaginians. A glance at a modern map of the area (fig. 1) will explain why this arrangement was preferred. Only a few miles east of Ras el-Aáli the desolate salt-

[27] It is interesting to note that Dr. William Smith, in his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London, 1854), anticipated the conclusions to which the new archaeological evidence leads. He stated (i, p. 186, s.v. 'Arae Philaenorum') that the legend of the Philaeni 'has all the character of a story invented to account for some striking object, such as *tumuli*', and that Gebel 'Allah' (=Ala) seen by the Beecheys 'has very likely as good claims . . . to be considered one of the so-called Altars, as any other hill or mound seen or imagined by the ancients.'

[28] Strabo xvii, 836. The date at which this frontier was effective is uncertain. (F. Strenger, *Strabos Erdkunde von Libyen* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 121–2.)

[29] *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ix (Leyden, 1938), 1.

[30] In the Roman period the mausolea of the farmers who cultivated the fertile area around Macomades were of the obelisk form that prevails in inner Tripolitania but is completely absent in Cyrenaica.

marshes of the Sebcha Mugtáa run down to the seashore, impeding communications by land, and isolating the area of Ras el-Aáli from that of el-Agheila. This marsh was probably more formidable in ancient times than it is to-day,[31] and security of communications would have demanded that the westernmost Cyrenaican outpost should lie east of it.

The ancient sources that refer to *Automalax* are listed by Pietschmann in the *Real-Encyclopädie;* [32] and it need only be noted here that the more recently discovered *Diagramma* gives the place-name as Αὐτάμαλαξ, which closely approaches the form recorded by Ptolemy (iv, 4, 2) and adopted in this paper. Strabo described *Automala* as a fort, containing a garrison, and situated at the very foot of the Gulf; and Ptolemy also lists it as a fort. The *Stadiasmus*, usually so full of topographical detail, gives the place-name without a word of description. In the two Roman itineraries *Automalax* has no place, but an *Anabucis* occupies approximately the same site. Although Muller [33] marks the two sites as distinct, Mannert, followed by most recent writers,[34] has assumed that they are simply Greek and Libyan place-names for the same site. As we shall see, this is the most acceptable view.

Attempts to locate *Automalax–Anabucis* have hitherto been unsuccessful. The Beecheys thought that the fort and bay at Marsa Brega were the strongest claimants, although they had to admit that the Gulf had already begun to curve northwards at that point. According to their observations, 'there is no (ancient) place of any kind at the bottom of the Gulf before Brega.' [35] Muller, as we have already seen, placed *Automalax* at the point where the Great Sebcha joins the sea, and *Anabucis* a little farther east, near the reef of Bu Sceéfa; but he had no archaeological evidence to support this hypothesis. Most Italian commentators have sited *Automalax–Anabucis* at El-Agheila, which site was unheard of prior to the construction of the Italian fort there in 1928: here again, archaeological proof is lacking.

Following the identification of *Arae Philaenorum* in 1951, inquiries were made at the *mudiriya* of El-Agheila in order to ascertain if any ancient remains were known to exist in the area. Information was received that there were remains of an ancient landing-place on the beach opposite the reef of Bu-Sceéfa, and a visit to the site rapidly confirmed the accuracy of this report. The site is on a small promontory backed by high sand-dunes, and separated from the modern coast-road by two parallel limestone ridges. As the promontory is shielded from these ridges by the intermediate dunes, it is easy to understand why the Beecheys failed to observe it.

The promontory of Bu Sceéfa, which is little more than a step in the coast-line, lies 8 kilometres west of the fort of El-Agheila, and is the nearest part of the coast to the island or reef of Bu Sceéfa, which is itself 2 kilometres off shore. The promontory is flat, but rocky at the water's edge: it is partly covered by sand interspersed with bushes. In this sand are visible numerous walls of rubble masonry, very similar to those that are to be seen in the walled village of *Boreum*,[36] at Bu Grada, east of Marsa Brega. The settlement at Bu Sceéfa is also walled on the landward side, but by a narrow dry-

[31] The problem of post-classical desiccation in Libya is too complex to be discussed here; but there is reason to believe that the marshes of the Syrtic region were wetter in antiquity.

[32] *RE* ii, 2604, s.v. 'Automala'.

[33] *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Tab. XX.

[34] Schmidt in *RE* i, 2016, s.v. 'Anabucis'.

[35] H. W. and F. W. Beechey, *op. cit.*

[36] R. G. Goodchild, 'Boreum of Cyrenaica', *J.R.S.* xli (1951), pp. 11–16.

built wall of limited defensive value unless originally backed by a stockade. A large fragment of fallen wall, externally plastered, at the south-west corner of the site, probably represents a tower guarding the angle. Gaps in both west and south sectors of the wall

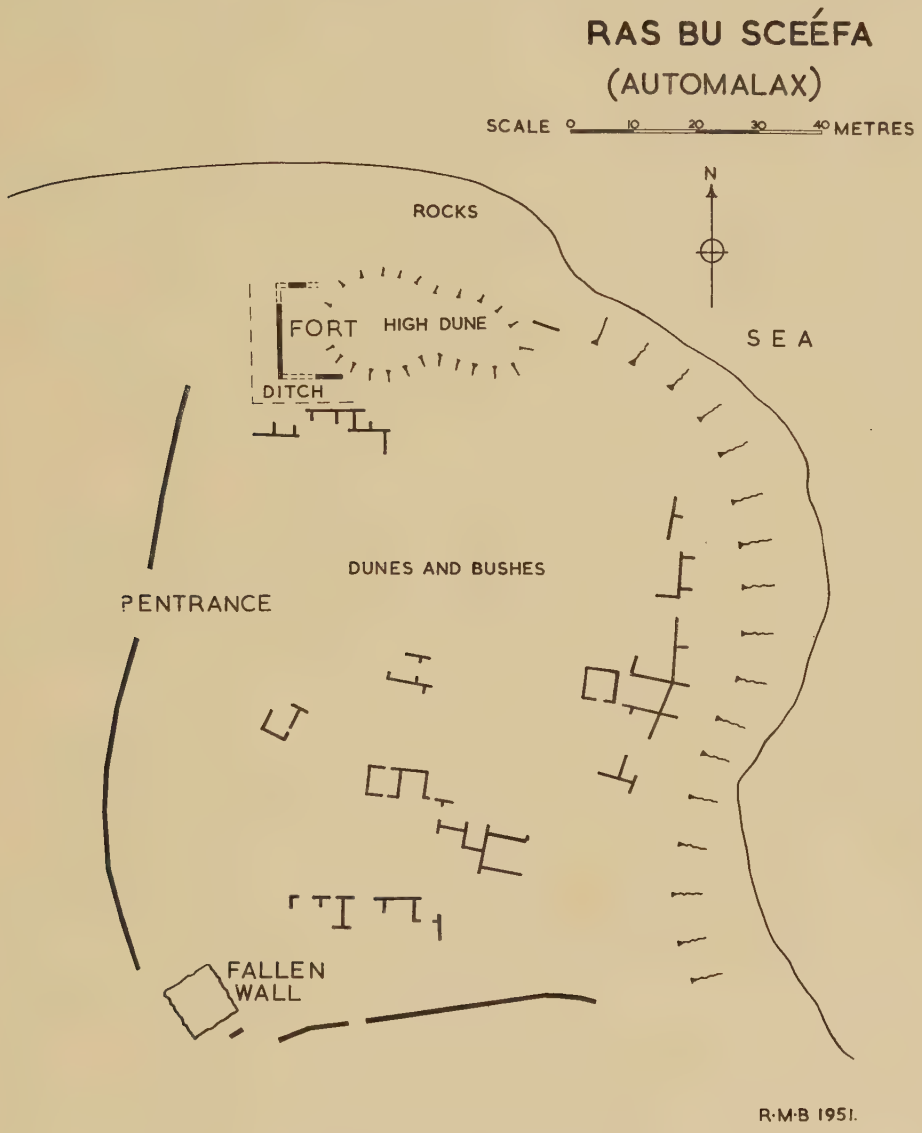


FIG. 4 (based on survey by R. M. Bradfield).

possibly represent entrances. The buildings within this perimeter wall seem to have consisted of small rectangular rooms, but a larger building, which can be described as a castle, and is surrounded by a shallow ditch, stands beside the sea at the northern end of the site. It is almost completely covered by a high dune obscuring its inner arrangements.

One of the small rectangular rooms at the south end of the site was cleared of sand in 1951, and found to have no paved floor: its walls were dry-built with a single course of diagonally pitched stones, as found also in the perimeter wall of the settlement. Much pottery is scattered over the site, including a large quantity of native hand-turned ware, some wheel-turned 'ribbed pottery' characteristic of the later Roman period, and one fragment of Byzantine green-glazed fabric. Pottery of undoubted Greek date was entirely absent on the surface.

The Bu Sceéfa site is situated precisely at the bottom of the Gulf, and the fact that it stands on the only promontory on this part of the coast leads one to conclude that it must—despite the superficial absence of early pottery—represent the site of *Automalax*. The distances given by the Stadiasmus, from the promontory of *Arae Philaenorum* on the west, and from Ἀμμωνίου Πηγαί on the east, coincide exactly with the actual distances from Ras el-Aáli and Maaten Bescer [37] respectively. It cannot be claimed that the walled settlement is earlier than the Roman period, but the fort itself may well be more ancient; and it must be remembered that the ancient sources merely indicate that *Automalax* was a fort, not that it was a centre of population. The fort is small, not more than 16 metres square, but there is no reason to presume that the 'garrison' referred to by Strabo was more than a small coastguard detachment. The maintenance of a large Greek garrison on this part of the coast would have been an expensive and unprofitable undertaking; communications must normally have been by sea rather than by land, and only the smallest vessels could use the anchorage. During our visit of July 1951, we found a small sponge-fishing craft anchored close to the reef of Bu Sceéfa, and greatly tossed about by waves. The selection of promontories for the Greek forts and settlements in the Syrtica is well attested (cf. the case of *Boreum*); [38] and if *Automalax* was not at Bu Sceéfa, then at least there is nowhere else where one might reasonably look for it.

As already remarked (above, p. 104), *Automalax* is not recorded in the Roman itineraries, both of which show *Anabucis* (defined as *praesidium* on the Peutinger Map) 25 Roman miles (37 km.) east of *Arae Philaenorum*. Measured by land from Ras el-Aáli, this distance brings one close to Bu Sceéfa, but measured from the 'Village of the Philaeni' at Gráret Gser et-Trab, 37 kilometres, brings one to a point rather nearer el-Agheila. Yet we do not know the exact route of the coastal track in the vicinity of Ras el-Aáli, nor can we expect the mileage distances in this part of the Syrtica to be absolutely precise. Thus it may be said that the distance-figures and the actual traces of Roman occupation at Bu Sceéfa would justify us in accepting it also as *Anabucis*, bearing in mind that most of these Syrtic sites had two place-names, one Greek and one indigenous, and that the Romans, characteristically, usually preferred the latter.[39]

A more serious objection to the identification would be that the description *praesidium* ought to imply something more conspicuously military than the settlement of Bu Sceéfa. *Zacasama praesidium*, also recorded by the Peutinger Map, and identified with

[37] Arae Philaenorum to Automalax: 185 stades = 32·8 km. Actual sea-distance from Ras el-Aáli to Bu Sceéfa = 34 km. Fontes Ammonis to Automalax: 180 stades = 31·9 km. Actual sea-distance from Bescer to Bu Sceéfa = 31.5 km.

[38] Goodchild, *loc. cit.*

[39] The Greek mariners whose information is embodied in such documents as the *Stadiasmus* seem to have been somewhat arbitrary in giving their own names to landmarks in preference to local names. The naval hydrographers of the nineteenth century were similarly inclined, and named Geziret el-Maracheb, in the Gulf of Bomba, 'Seal Island'.

great probability at Ras Ben Gawád,[40] near Nofilia, is a promontory fort, with a broad ditch on the landward side, which dominates the coastal route. Bu Sceéfa does not dominate anything, and one could easily pass it by, as did the Beecheys, without knowing it was there. If the *praesidium* of *Anabucis* was intended to control the coastal route, it should logically have been sited on one of the two ridges that run parallel to the sea.[41]

If, therefore, traces of a strongly defended fort of the Roman period were to come to light on the hills between Bu Sceéfa and El-Agheila, or at El-Agheila itself, one would have no hesitation in accepting their site as *Anabucis*. But they have not come to light, and until they do, we are perhaps justified in assuming with Mannert and later writers, that *Automalax* and *Anabucis* are one and the same site, and in interpreting the Roman '*praesidium*' as a coast-watching post, similar to its Greek predecessor. The nearest real *praesidium* seems to have been the fort, already referred to, at Bir Umm el-Garanigh, 30 kilometres to the west. Is it possible that the copyist of the Peutinger Map placed the word '*praesidium*' after *Anabucis*, instead of after *Arae Philaenorum*, in error? The alternative explanation, that *Anabucis praesidium* was in fact at Bir Umm el-Garanigh, makes nonsense of the evidence of the Itineraries, evidence which in every other respect is consistent with the topography and archaeology of this region.

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It may be useful to recapitulate briefly the conclusions at which we have arrived in the course of this inquiry. They are as follows:

(1) Ras el-Aáli is the only acceptable site for the promontory and anchorage of *Arae Philaenorum*.

(2) The 'Village of the Philaeni' recorded by Ptolemy is presumably represented by the ruins at Gráret Gser et-Trab, which include a possible temple of Ammon (cf. Scylax) and an imposing group of honorific columns, of the Tetrarchy, marking the Roman provincial frontier.

(3) Although firm evidence of pre-Roman date is lacking, the ancient settlement at Bu Sceéfa is the only acceptable site for *Automalax*.

(4) *Anabucis* is most likely to have been on the same site as *Automalax*, and to be represented by the visible remains at Bu Sceéfa; but in this case its description as a *praesidium* must be interpreted with reserve. Alternatively, it may have been a separate place and stood nearer El-Agheila; but archaeological evidence for a site in the latter area has still to be found.

(5) A *praesidium* did in fact exist, during the first century A.D., at Bir Umm el-Garanigh, 30 kilometres west of Bu Sceéfa.

Finally, a few remarks on ancient communications in the Gulf may not be out of place. First, as regards sea communications, it is interesting to note that the *Stadiasmus* gives shorter stages, and far more topographical detail, in the eastern sector of the Syrtis than in the western. The landmarks described between *Berenice* and *Arae Philaenorum* are nowhere more than 200 stades apart, and usually much less. Westward of

[40] The Peutinger Map gives the place-name as *Zagaẓaena*, but *Zacasama*, as listed in the Ravennas Cosmography (iii, 2) seems closer to the *Sacamaẓa* of Ptolemy (iv, 3).

[41] Air photographs of the area of El-Agheila have so far failed to reveal any indications of a Roman fort; but it must be admitted that blown sand could have obscured such traces.

Arae Philaenorum the stages are often of 350 stades, and sometimes even more. This difference is not attributable to the existence of a greater number of landmarks and coastal settlements in the eastern (Cyrenaican) sector: on the contrary, the Tripolitanian part of the Syrtis can boast such conspicuous promontories as Ras Ben Gawád, infinitely more important to the mariner than some of the places named in the Cyrenaican section of the *Stadiasmus*. We can only conclude that the compiler of *Stadiasmus* had, at his disposal, more detailed records of the Cyrenaican coast: and this is not altogether surprising if the sources of the *Stadiasmus* are mainly of Cyrenaic origin of pre-Roman date. Carthage was singularly jealous of her Syrtic possessions, and would have sternly discountenanced Greek commerce west of *Arae Philaenorum*.

There may, however, be a supplementary reason for the surprisingly detailed description that the *Stadiasmus* gives of the coast from *Berenice* to the foot of the Gulf. Not only was the outpost of *Automalax* probably supplied by sea, but we may suspect that there was considerable coastal trade carried on by small boats and lighters, which hugged the coast, and needed detailed information of every reef and headland. Windberg has suggested that it was the export of sulphur from Mugtáa deposits that gave importance to the harbour of *Arae Philaenorum*. In antiquity, as to-day, sulphur was extensively used in the cultivation of vines, and Greek farmers in the Cyrenaican Gebel may well have received their supplies from the Syrtic area. The modern use of these deposits, for the same purpose, has been proposed recently.[42]

Of land communications, little need be said. There were no paved Roman roads along the shores of the Syrtis, but the caravan routes presented no particular difficulties except, perhaps, at the crossing of the Great Sebcha between *Arae Philaenorum* and *Automalax*. The wells and cisterns scattered along the Syrtic shores were sufficient to meet the needs of normal caravans, and the increased use of the camel [43] during the Roman period must have had its effect on the development of land traffic. Wheel-ruts of ancient date have been observed near el-Agheila, which would indicate that vehicular traffic was not unknown in these parts.[44] The relative accuracy of the mileage figures in the Antonine Itinerary shows that the Syrtic route was carefully surveyed by the Romans.[45]

In antiquity, as more recent times, the ease with which the land-route could be followed depended largely on the degree of local security. So long as the Nasamones, and other raiding tribes, remain uncontrolled, the journey along the Gulf must have been perilous; but after the crushing of the Nasamones by Suellius Flaccus under Domitian [46] and the establishment of outposts at Gasr Haddadía and at Bir Umm el-

[42] Windberg in *RE*, *loc. cit.* I am indebted to Mr. K. R. Butlin for information relating to the sulphur deposits of the Syrtic Gulf. The sulphur is formed by micro-biological action, which is now being studied in English laboratories.

[43] Cato's army used donkeys in its epic march through the Syrtica (Plut., *Cato Minor*, 56), but by the third century A.D. the camel was widely used in Libya.

[44] G. A. Freund, travelling from Benghazi to Tripoli in May 1881, observed the wheel-ruts of an ancient road at a place called 'Egelte Sania' situated between the wells of Bescer and the Sebcha Mugtáa (*Pioneri Italiani in Libia*, Milan, 1912, p. 168). Although this report has not been subsequently confirmed and the exact site is uncertain, Freund was an acute observer, whose archaeological notes are generally reliable. In the Cyrenaican *gebel* ancient wheel-ruts are commonly encountered.

[45] The Antonine Itinerary gives the distance from *Macomades* (Sirte) to *Boreum* (Bu Grada) as 221 Roman miles (=327 km.). The actual distance, as measured on the latest maps, is 343 km. In such terrain, and on so ill-defined a route, the margin of error is astonishingly small.

[46] Of this campaign we have only the record of Zonaras (xi, 19), and a brief allusion in the geographical poem of Dionysius Periegetes (210). That Suellius Flaccus marched through the Syrtic region is confirmed by a boundary-inscription found near Sirte (*IRT*, 854).

Garanigh, the Syrtis must have lost much of its ill repute. That the *pax romana* remained undisturbed in these parts up to the end of the third century A.D. is attested by the frontier monument at *Arae Philaenorum*. Only later, towards the end of the fourth century, did the route once again become arduous and perilous, as a result of the barbarian invasions.

R. G. GOODCHILD

APPENDIX

The Inscriptions at Arae Philaenorum

During our brief visit to the ancient site of Gráret Gser et-Trab, in July 1951, we observed fragmentary Latin inscriptions carved on two of the column drums that form

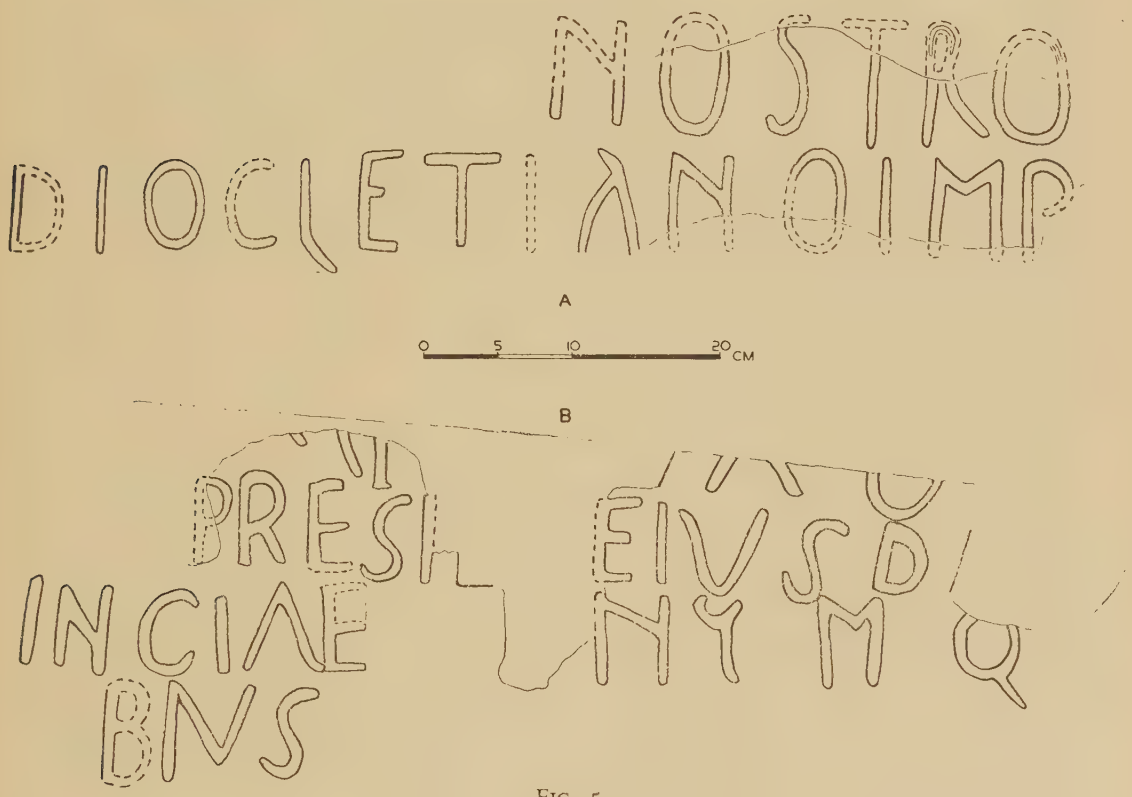


FIG. 5.

the late enclosures C and D (p. 99 and fig. 2). Careful copies were made by Mr. David Smith and the writer, and are here reproduced (fig. 5). There is every reason to suspect that the removal of the sand that has blown up against the enclosure walls would reveal further inscriptions, and perhaps the missing part of No. 2; but such a task was beyond our resources at the time of the visit.

Both inscriptions are cut into the white stucco with which the standing columns were coated, thus concealing the joints between the individual drums. The dismemberment of the columns has damaged this stucco, and where it has fallen away from the stone the letters are normally missing. In the case of No. 1, however, some of the letters were cut sufficiently deeply to leave traces on the underlying stone.

Inscription No. 1 is evidently earlier than No. 2, since it was plastered over before the columns were dismantled, whereas No. 2 shows no signs of having been obliterated in this manner. It is reasonable to assume that No. 1 was plastered over at the time that No. 2 was cut, even though there are no grounds for presuming that both drums belong to the same column.

(1) On a drum now forming part of the west side of enclosure C. Letters: 7–8 cm. high, widely spaced and tolerably regular.

[Domino] nostro
Diocletiano imp(eratore)

It is to be noted that there are no traces of letters below l. 2, even where the surface of the stone is intact. It is unlikely, therefore, that the name of the emperor was followed by that of the dedicator. If, we as have suggested (p. 101), each of the four columns supported a statue of one of the Tetrarchs, it may be supposed that the name of the emperor in question was carved on the column at the eye-level, the circumstances of the dedication being inscribed elsewhere, perhaps on a separate base.

(2) On a drum now forming part of the north side of enclosure D. Letters: 6 cm. high, closely set and irregular (pl. XIX, 1).

////*(illegible)*////
///pr(a)esid [e] eiusde [m
[prov] inciae NY M Q
BIVS

The remains of l. 1 are too fragmentary to be restored: they recorded, presumably, the name of the *praeses*. The use of *eiusdem* in l. 2 probably indicates that the name of the province occurred earlier in the text, whence we may conjecture that the inscription referred to the demarcation of the provincial boundary. The use of Latin, rather than Greek, suggests that it was the *provincia Tripolitana*, rather than *Libya Pentapolis*, which took the initiative of cutting the inscription.

The letters indicated by capitals cannot easily be restored; but the most probable interpretation is that a D occupied the gap in the plaster before NY M Q, and that this part of the text should be read [*d(evoto)*] *nu(mini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius*. It must be noted, however, that the first letter of l. 4 has every appearance of being a B, which might suggest the personal name [*Fla*]*bius*.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE SEVERAN BASILICA AT LEPCIS MAGNA, 1951

(Plates XX–XXX)

DURING the summer of 1951, the British School undertook an examination of the remaining unexcavated Byzantine levels within the Severan basilica at Lepcis Magna.[1] In converting the basilica to Christian use, Justinian's architects had raised the floor-level at a number of points, and it was hoped that the deposits stratified between the two floor-levels might yield evidence of the condition of the building immediately before the Byzantine reconquest of Tripolitania. In this respect the excavations proved uninformative. A section cut through the low platform built out from the south-east apse into the first two bays of the nave, to house the sixth-century chancel, revealed a uniform and deliberate fill of earth and rubble lying directly on the cement basis of the earlier floor, which here, as everywhere else, had been previously stripped of its Severan paving of slabs of Proconnesian marble. A section in the southernmost of the four chapels that fill the angles of the building, flanking the two apses, revealed a similar fill, the only difference being that, in this case, the original paving slabs were found re-used at the sixth-century level and had evidently been prised up from the earlier pavement at the time of the sixth-century reconstruction. By the sixth century, the pavement of the adjoining forum had already been buried beneath half a metre of flood-sand, and we may suspect that the Byzantine architects had to remove a similar accumulation from the basilica before putting it into repair. But, if so, no traces of any such fill remain in the two sections examined. The only evidence to show that the building was in a state of abandon and partial collapse by the early sixth century is that which was already available from the previous excavations, namely that in the west corner chapel, which was remodelled in the sixth century to serve as a baptistery, the fill between the two floor-levels was found to contain two of the angle columns of Carystian marble (*cipollino*), fallen and smashed; and that, both in this and in the corresponding south and east chapels (there are no traces of later modification to the north chapel), the Byzantine architects found the Severan roof already fallen, or in so dangerous a condition that it had to be scrapped and replaced by massive barrel vaults.

[1] The excavation was supervised by Mrs. D. W. Brogan, and the survey is the work of Messrs. G. A. Clarke and G. H. Slater of Cambridge University. Thanks are due to the Antiquities Department, to Mr. C. H. Johns, Controller of Antiquities, and to the Superintendent of Antiquities for Tripolitania, Dr. Vergara-Caffarelli, for much practical help during the work; and to the following members of the local staff: S. C. Catanuso, who made a preliminary survey of the church, before excavation; to S. De Liberali, who took the photographs reproduced on pls. XX, XXI and XXV; and to S. Episcopia, who served as foreman during the excavation. The identification of the south chapel as a synagogue was first proposed by Mr. G. U. S. Corbett.

For the Severan basilica and forum, see *Il Foro e la Basilica Severiana di Leptis Magna* (*I Monumenti Italiani: rilievi raccolti a cura della R. Accademia d'Italia*, fasc. viii–ix), Rome, 1936; also R. Bartoccini, *Africa Italiana*, i, 1927, pp. 53–74 and ii, 1928–29, pp. 30–49; J. B. Ward Perkins in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxviii, 1948, pp. 59–80, and in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxvii, 1951, forthcoming. For the conversion of the basilica into a church, see P. Romanelli, *Atti del IV° Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma, 1938*, Rome, 1940, pp. 266–270; J. B. Ward Perkins and R. G. Goodchild, in *Archaeologia*, xcv, 1953.

Although the excavations did not, therefore, throw much light on the problem that was their primary purpose, they did nevertheless produce one interesting and entirely unexpected result. The south chapel was found to have undergone substantial modification in late antiquity, at some date before the basilica was turned into a church. It is with the changes that were made on that occasion that the present note is concerned.

The plan of the chapel is an irregular rectangle, measuring 8·33 and 9·15 metres on the north-east and south-west sides, respectively, and 7·82 and 7·97 on the north-west and south-east (fig. 2). The irregularity of plan was determined by the shape of the site available for the basilica and forum and the resultant obliquity of the basilica to the line of the Severan colonnaded street, against which it abuts at the south-east end.[2] By banishing the awkward corners to the angle chapels and to other secondary features, the architect was able to keep the main hall of the basilica and the central courtyard of the forum as independent, symmetrical units. In its original form, the south chapel had three doors: one in the middle of the north-west wall, opening off the end of the south-west lateral aisle of the basilica; one in the middle of the south-east wall, affording an entry to the basilica directly from the colonnaded street; and a third, smaller door in the north-east wall, leading directly through into the apse and to the stairs that served the south-west lateral gallery. Four free-standing pedestal bases at the angles carried columns of Carystian marble, with Pentelic bases and lotus-and-acanthus capitals. There are no traces on the surviving walls either of vaulting or of sockets for roof-timbers, and the ceiling must have been a rigid timber structure, independent of the walls and supported entirely by the columns at the four corners.[3] The walls were elaborately veneered with marble panels, and the floor was paved with rectangular slabs of Proconnesian marble, except at the edges of the room, where the walls rested on a broad footing of fine limestone blocks, set flush with the level of the marble paving (pl. XXVIII).

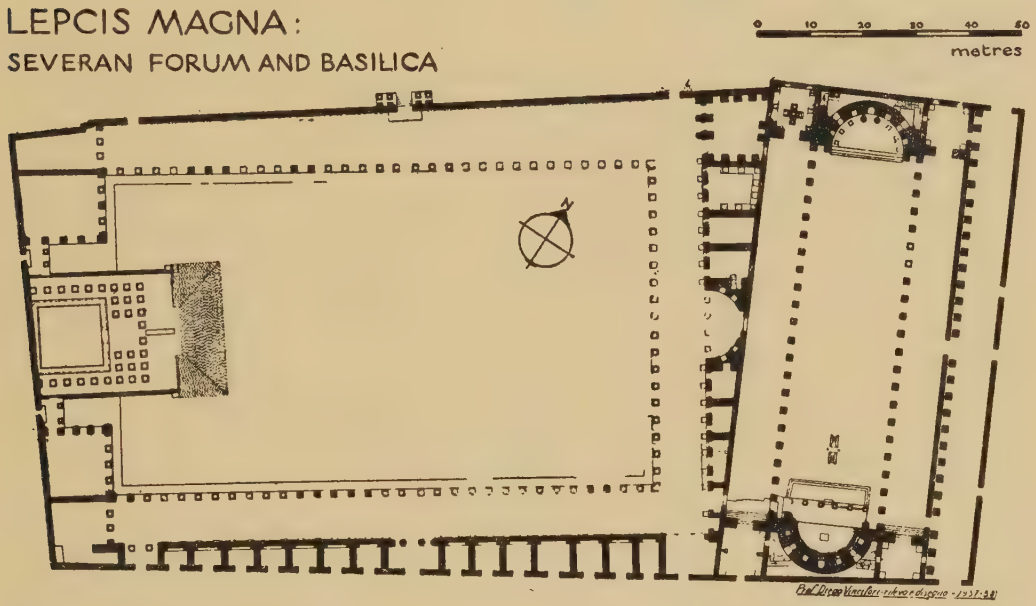
The fifth-century alterations, which will be described below, do not appear to have involved any substantial structural changes other than the blocking of the south-east door, between the chapel and the colonnaded street. The sixth century, on the other hand, saw the raising of the floor-level, by an average of about 1·15 m., and the substitution of a massive barrel vault of sandstone masonry for the earlier timber ceiling. The vault itself has fallen, and only a few blocks are preserved in position near the east corner; but the form is certain, both by comparison with the surviving sixth-century vault over the west (baptistery) chapel and from the remains of the piers and columns upon which it was carried. These consist of a masonry pier, roughly square in section, at each of the four corners, resting on the limestone plinth (formerly free-standing, but now buried flush with the new floor-level) that had carried the angle columns of the earlier roof; and, in the middle of the north-east and of the south-west sides, half-way between the angle piers, two pairs of red granite columns, coupled at right-angles to the wall and serving, with the angle piers, to carry a shallow arcade of two arches along the face of the north-east and south-west walls of the chapel, thereby reducing the span to be vaulted by about 1·80 metres, and at the same time providing for the vault a seating that was independent of the main walls of the building, and so avoiding tampering with the

[2] See *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, p. 281, map 5.

[3] A fact which no doubt contributed to its early collapse.

masonry of the existing structure. A rough cornice crowned the arcade, and immediately above this was the spring of the main barrel vault (pls. XXII, *a*, XXX).[4]

The use of coupled columns to provide a seating wide enough to carry a masonry arcade, in place of the narrower monolithic architrave of classical practice, is a device that was much favoured by the Christian architects of North Africa. Here, as in both the other surviving Tripolitanian examples,[5] it is a strictly functional device, to enable re-used classical members to carry a greater bulk of superstructure than that for which they were designed. The source of the four re-used capitals (Corinthian, of the second and third centuries) cannot now be determined; but one of the south-western pair of columns rests upon a half-buried base of Pentelic marble belonging to a distinctive



(*Block by courtesy of the Roman Society*)

FIG. 1.

set of which several examples have been found in or near the basilica, and it probably formed part of the interior decoration of one of the upper rooms. The bases of this set have a ring of acanthus leaves above the upper torus-moulding, as on the bases of the upper order of the Severan Nymphaeum; and the corresponding capitals, also of Pentelic, are composite.

By comparison with the alterations made by the Byzantine architects, those of the fifth century had been modest in scale; but they had been enough to change completely

[4] The columns, which range from 3·52 to 3·63 metres high, all appear to come from the upper order of the north-west apse of the basilica, which was dismantled by Justinian's architects to provide materials for this and for the near-by church (church 3) off the head of the colonnaded street. Among the debris of the earlier excavations there is a voussoir-block of sandstone, decorated in relief with a compass-traced Greek cross.

[5] Lepcis, church 2, in the Forum Vetus: R. Bartoccini, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, viii, 1931, pp. 23–52; Romanelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–6; Ward Perkins and Goodchild, *op. cit.* Sabratha, church 1, in the former judiciary basilica, Romanelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–253; Ward Perkins and Goodchild, *op. cit.*

the character of the room. Instead of serving as a vestibule between the colonnaded street and the basilica, as originally planned, it now became a small, self-contained place of assembly, with benches round three at any rate of the four walls, and a central niche-like feature against the blocked south-east door. The excavation of 1951 was incomplete. It would have been impossible, in the time available, to clear the whole room without damage to one of the few features of the Byzantine building that has survived relatively intact. It was, however, possible to clear the whole of the south-east wall and parts of the north-east and south-west walls; and this, coupled with the evidence of a section cut from north-west to south-east down the middle of the room, was enough to show the general character of the fifth-century alterations (pls. XXVII, XXIX).

The new lay-out consisted of a raised seat, in the form of three unequal steps, set against the south-east wall, between the pedestal-bases of the Severan angle columns, and flanking a central recess; and along each of the side-walls a low bench in the form of a single step (pls. XX, XXI).[6] Of the two lateral benches, that along the north-east wall has only been exposed at the east corner of the room; but a trench near the middle of the south-west wall showed the corresponding, south-western bench running beneath the foundations of the sixth-century coupled columns, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that this bench ran the length of the south-west wall or that the north-east bench ran at any rate to the door opening into the south-east apse of the basilica. Whether (as, in the absence of any trace of blocking, seems likely) this door remained open and in use during the fifth century, and whether there was a corresponding bench along the north-west wall, on either side of the main entrance, are questions that can only be answered by further excavation.

Both the low side-benches and the triple bench against the end wall are formed of re-used blocks of masonry, laid to a rough joint and brought to a finish with a thick coating of plaster, which is also carried uniformly round the projecting corners of the angle pedestals and up the face of the wall behind.[7] Except in the central niche, the plaster surface is broken at one point only, between the niche and the south corner of the room. Here there is a small, extra step, projecting forward from the top step (pl. XXI, *b*); and the upper surface of the top step has been broken on the line of a rectangular feature, which had to be removed when the sixth-century pavement was laid. This may have been no more than a single block of stone, or it may have been something more elaborate; but enough of the broken joint remains on the south-west face to show that, in either case, it was firmly plastered into position, and it evidently formed a seat of special prominence among the raised seats that flank the central niche.

The central niche, the outer faces of which correspond almost exactly with the outer edges of the jambs of the Severan door, is built up of fragments of brick and of small, irregular blocks of stone, bedded in cement and finished in the same plaster as the rest of the fifth-century work. In plan it forms three sides of a rectangle, measuring (internally) 1·98 m. across the back by 0·60 m. deep, open at the front and splayed very slightly outwards.[8] It is plainly incomplete both at the top and at the bottom. The

[6] The three steps to the east of the niche are (from bottom to top) 31, 22 and 39 cm. high, respectively; those to the west, 28, 25 and 37 cm. The lateral benches are both 43 cm. high.

[7] As can be seen in pl. XXI, *b*, the wall was plastered before the benches were added; but the plaster is identical in each case, and there is nothing else to suggest that this was more than the successive stages of a single operation.

[8] The outward splay, from the back to the front, is 6 cm.

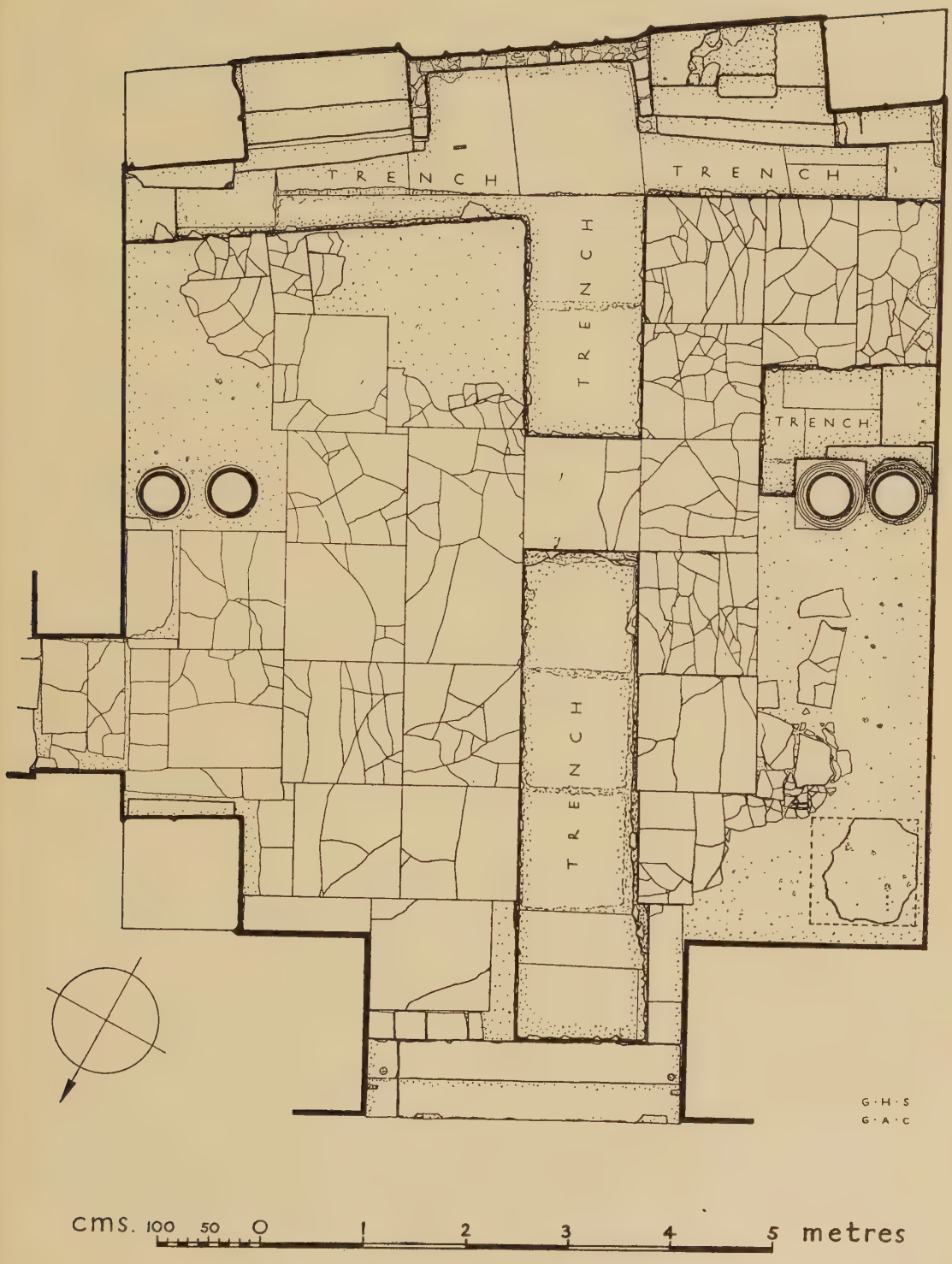


FIG. 2. SEVERAN BASILICA, SOUTH CHAPEL

top has been cut off at the level of the sixth-century pavement (pl. XXIII, *a*); and the imprint of the flat object that once formed the bottom of the niche (pl. XXIII, *c*) suggests that this was probably a marble slab, re-used from some earlier building and removed in the sixth century, at the same time as the Severan pavement was lifted. How high the niche stood above the level at which it has been cut off is uncertain. The rough, unplastered facing of the lower part of the filling of the Severan door (pl. XX, *a*) suggests that this part at any rate may have been hidden; and this would accord with the vertical break in the line of the plaster facing of the wall to either side. If, as is reasonable to suppose, the plaster facing to the upper part of the filling of the Severan door is of the same date as the rest, the horizontal break that marks the lower edge of this would give a plausible height for the masonry framework of the niche (about 2 m. from floor-level), although it does not follow that there might not have been a superstructure in other materials.[9]

In the absence of any inscription or of any significant ornament, the nature and purpose of this room can only be determined from the remains already described. From the fact that there were seats around three at any rate of the four walls, of which those facing the door were the more important, we may deduce that it was a place of formal assembly. If we seek to define more precisely the purpose for which it was used, the choice would seem to lie between the meeting place or audience hall of some civic body and the seat of some private association or cult. Which of the two we choose depends largely on our interpretation of the central niche. The former is the more natural identification of a room established within one of the city's main public buildings; and the position of the niche within the room corresponds with that, for example, of the raised dais that we find in the Diocletianic *curia* in Rome and in the analogous *curiae* of the provinces.[10] It seems most unlikely, however, that the seat of honour would have been placed lower than the seats to the right and left of it; and even if we assume some movable feature, such as a tall wooden seat, within the niche (and the dimensions are barely sufficient), this leaves unexplained the raised seat in the middle of the adjoining bench. The alternative, which accords better with the character of the surviving remains, is that the niche was a recess to house the object of veneration of some sect, of which this room was the meeting place.

That it was indeed a place of worship finds striking confirmation, if we compare the surviving remains with those of the mid-third-century synagogue excavated at Dura.[11] The resemblance is very close. The Dura synagogue has benches round the four walls; in the middle of the west wall, opposite the main entrance, there is a canopied niche to

[9] A pair of shallow, vertical slots, visible immediately above this patch of plaster (pl. XX, *a*), is probably to be ascribed to the succeeding, Byzantine phase; see p. 120. These slots measure 58 cm. high by 7 cm. broad (left) and 67 cm. by 8 cm. (right); the lower ends are level, 2·79 m. above the Severan pavement. They are now partly filled with plaster; but it is not clear whether this is what remains of the seating to hold in place some object that was fixed into them, or whether it represents a later phase when they were out of use and were perhaps plastered over.

[10] Represented by no less than three surviving examples in Tripolitania: at Lepcis, the *curia* in the Forum Vetus, excavated by Guidi and now awaiting publication by Dr. U. Ciotti; and at Sabratha, the *curia* on the north side of the Forum (R. Bartoccini, 'La curia di Sabratha', *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, i, 1950, pp. 29–58), and the second phase of the cruciform, vaulted building (later a baptistery) at the south-west corner of the Forum (Ward Perkins and Goodchild, *op. cit.*, fig. 3).

[11] H. F. Pearson in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Sixth Season of Work*, New Haven, 1936, pp. 309–396, pls. VII, VIII; a definitive report, by Mr. Carl H. Kraeling, is in preparation. It should be recorded that Mr. Kraeling, who has kindly examined the plan and photographs of the new room at Lepcis, is unconvinced by the identification of it as a synagogue.

house the *Torah*, the Ark of the Law;[12] and beside the *Torah* niche, to the right, there is a raised seat, the 'Seat of Moses', on which the presiding Elder sat. There are, of course, differences of detail. At Dura, for example, the room is wider than it is long; but as the excavators remark—and the remark would apply with equal force at Lepcis—'spatial limitations and earlier buildings on the plot, as well as the building materials used in its construction, have influenced the form of the Dura Synagogue'. The central niches, too, differ in detail at Dura and at Lepcis; and, although in both buildings some of the benches are more elaborate than the others, at Dura the former include the whole of the right-hand half of the room as well as the end wall, whereas at Lepcis it is only those of the end wall that are the more elaborate. But, considering the gap in space and time that separates the Dura synagogue from the building at Lepcis, these differences are really surprisingly small. The essential features—the benches, the central niche, the raised seat beside the niche—correspond closely enough to suggest that at Lepcis, too, we have the remains of a small synagogue.

The identification falls short of proof. There is nothing decisively and uniquely Jewish about the remains; indeed, short of the chance discovery in the sixth-century filling of an inscription or of the fragments of some destroyed cult-object, it is hard to see what decisive proof one could hope to find that this was a synagogue. If there had ever been a fixed *bema*[13] or the emplacement for the *Menorah*, the seven-branched candlestick, the traces would have been destroyed when the marble pavement was lifted in the sixth century; and any distinctively Jewish ornament on the walls would certainly have been obliterated when the room was converted to Christian use. On the other hand, the orientation accords with what we know of contemporary Jewish practice. So far as the orientation of the existing building permitted (and the Christian architects who adapted the basilica were later faced with exactly the same difficulty), the niche was towards the East, towards Jerusalem, and the raised seats to the right and left of the niche would have served very well as the seats of the Elders, who sat 'with their faces to the people and their backs to the Holy (*i.e.*, to Jerusalem)'.[14] Ancient practice was not entirely consistent in this respect; but by the fifth century, orientation with the *Torah* shrines towards Jerusalem seems to have become the general rule. Thus, when *Torah* shrines in stone were added to the second-century or third-century synagogues at Capernaum and at Chorazin, in Galilee, which had been built with the entrance to the South, towards Jerusalem, the new shrines were placed just inside the main door, blocking it.[15] A conspicuous exception is the synagogue at Hammam Lif, the only other North African synagogue so far identified;[16] but as it can be dated by its mosaics to the early fourth century, at latest, it may well represent an earlier and less consistent phase of North African Jewish practice.

The small side door, if it was open in the fifth century (and there is no trace of any blocking), would have served as a Women's Entrance, on the analogy of the smaller, lateral door at Dura, which is reasonably so identified. But here again the known ancient

[12] For this and other fittings of the ancient synagogue, see E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (British Academy, Schweich Lecture, 1930), Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 52–61. The actual Ark was a double-doored wooden chest, with a gabled or rounded roof, independent of the niche within which it was placed. One must imagine curtains screening the niche.

[13] The *bema* (βῆμα) was normally of wood (*ibid.*, p. 57).

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 57–8, citing *Tosephta*, *Megilla* 4 : 21.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[16] *Revue archéologique*, 1884, i, pp. 273 ff., pls. VII–X; R. Cagnat and P. Gauckler, *Les monuments historiques de la Tunisie*, i, *les temples païens*, Paris, 1898, pp. 152–4, fig. 16.

synagogues show little uniformity. Another feature that is usually, though not invariably, present is some sort of forecourt or antechamber. If, however, there was ever such a vestibule at Lepcis, it was swept away by the sixth-century builders and has left no trace. We may summarize the archaeological evidence by saying that, although it falls short of proof, it is entirely consistent with the identification of this room as a small synagogue.

This identification raises several further questions that require brief discussion. Two of these are closely interconnected: at what date was the south chapel of the basilica converted for use as a synagogue; and how was it that a private cult came to be established in one of the city's main public buildings? There is no direct evidence for the date other than the character of the work. This, with its liberal re-use of earlier material and reliance upon stucco to conceal the shortcomings of the masonry, is typical of late antique usage at Lepcis, as elsewhere. To judge from the quality of such known Constantinian work as the restorations to the Basilica Vetus and to the Macellum, work of this sort could hardly be earlier than the middle of the fourth century, at any rate in a public building. In a private building, it might perhaps have been earlier; but it is quite inconceivable that a private cult should have been allowed to invade the basilica before the fifth century. The rich series of public dedications preserved in the Severan basilica and forum gives clear proof, if proof be needed, that this remained the centre of the city's corporate life and activity down to the end of the fourth century. Thereafter there was a sudden and decisive break. The latest dated public inscription from Lepcis comes from the Severan forum and is a dedication, made by the *ordo splendidissimus et populus Lepcimagnensis civitatis*, to Flavius Ortygius, *comes et dux prouinciae Tripolitanae* under Honorius and Theodosius II (408–423).[17] The breakdown of the province's defences (and it is symptomatic of the times that the dedication to Ortygius should have been in gratitude for services rendered against the Austuriani, the tribesmen from the interior who had sacked Sabratha half-a-century earlier[18]) disrupted the economy of the coastal cities; and this was accompanied, at Lepcis, by a losing battle against the encroaching sand-dunes and by disastrous floods. The picture that Procopius paints, of a deserted city buried beneath the sand,[19] may be a picturesque exaggeration; but it is quite clear that by the sixth century organized city life had long ceased to exist.

Against such a background, it is easy to see how the local Jewish community might have come to occupy a corner of the basilica at some time during the course of the fifth century. In view of the startling rapidity of the city's decline, the relative competence of the workmanship may perhaps be taken to point to a date quite early in the period that followed the collapse of civic authority, perhaps about the middle of the century; but, where so much is still dark, it would be unwise to press the point. We can only say for certain that it was later than the dedication to Ortygius (408–423) and earlier than the reconquest of Tripolitania by Justinian in the thirties of the following century.

That there were Jews in Tripolitania in classical times we know from an entry in the Peutinger Table for the Sirtica, *locus Iudaeorum Augusti*, probably to be identified with the modern Medinet es-Sultan, and from the discovery, shortly before the second world

[17] *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, 480.

[18] Most recently discussed by Bartoccini in *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, i, 1950, pp. 33–5.

[19] *Aedif.* VI, 4, 1: ἡ Λεπτιμάγνα .... ἔρημος χρόνῳ ὕστερον γεγενημένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ψάμμου τε πλήθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι καταχωσθεῖσα; cf. VI, 4, 6.

war, of a small Jewish catacomb on the outskirts of Tripoli.[20] This is the first specific evidence of Jews at Lepcis Magna; but it would be surprising if a mercantile city with so many eastern connections had not included a small Jewish community.

In conclusion, it may be useful to put on record a few further facts that emerged in the course of the excavations undertaken in 1951, relating to the Severan basilica and to the sixth-century church.

It has always been assumed that the steps leading up from the main hall of the basilica to the floor of the north-west apse (and, by analogy, a corresponding flight of steps at the south-east end, presumed to underlie the platform added in front of the south-east apse in the sixth century) are an original feature of the Severan building. These steps, however, are very much rougher in construction than the rest of the Severan work (pls. XXIII, *b*; XXIV, *a*); and an examination of a short section at the north-east end, where they abut on the projecting base of the north-west responding pilaster of the north-east nave colonnade, now confirms that they consist of re-used blocks of limestone laid on a tightly packed core of rubble, and that this rubble contains moulded fragments of Proconnesian marble, which must come from the Severan buildings. The original Severan lay-out can be traced in the seating for a line of heavy slabs of marble, up-ended against the vertical front of the apse to form a continuous marble facing (remains of the cement backing for these slabs can be seen in pl. XXIV, *b*; also, just above the ranging pole, two of the slots for metal cramps to hold the facing in position). This facing was continuous with that of the plinths of the responding pilasters of the nave arcades; and both alike were crowned by a small marble cornice-moulding, which was cut back across the front of the apse when the steps were added, but is preserved in part on the pilaster plinths. No doubt there was some form of balustrade across the front of the apse, which thus formed a raised platform, just over a metre above the floor of the nave, from which it was quite distinct, and accessible only by the two lateral doors—an arrangement that would seem both more logical and more dignified than that hitherto accepted. A section cut through the sixth-century platform in front of the south-east apse confirms this conclusion. There had never been any steps at this end; and there can be no doubt, therefore, that those in front of the north-west apse date from the sixth century and are part of the alterations undertaken by Justinian's architects. It is interesting to note how far the building had, by then, already been stripped of its marble fittings.

A feature that was added in the sixth century is the massive marble slab that marks the presumed site of the altar, in the middle of the south-east apse. This slab was raised, and was found to be a re-used slab of Proconnesian marble, measuring 1·46 × 1·20 × 0·37 metres, with base-mouldings on the shorter faces.[21] It rested directly on the concrete basis of the robbed Severan paving, and there was no reliquary recess beneath it. This confirms what we already know of Tripolitanian Christian practice: there is little or no trace within the territory of the exaggerated martyr-cult that is so marked a feature of North African Christianity elsewhere, and in particular of those regions where Donatism was most deeply rooted.[22]

[20] Unpublished. The catacomb was destroyed in 1942, but enough is known of the paintings found in it to establish its character.

[21] The scale of the moulding suggests that this slab may come from the temple in the adjoining forum; the material and workmanship are Severan.

[22] A. Berthier, *Les Vestiges du Christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale*, Alger, 1942, *passim*.

The chapel at the east angle of the basilica, symmetrically across the south-east apse from the south chapel, underwent a transformation in the sixth century similar to that of the south chapel, except that, being shorter from north-west to south-east, the vault was carried on the four angle piers without any intervening support in the middle of the north-east and south-west sides. In the middle of the south-east wall, about 1·70 m. above the Byzantine pavement level, there are two vertical slots, of the same shape and in the same relative position as those in the south chapel (pl. XXII, *c*). This fact at first suggested the possibility that this chapel too had been remodelled in the fifth century; but a trial trench against the south-east wall, from the centre of the wall-face to the south angle pier, revealed only the Severan masonry, stripped of its marble veneer, and the pedestal base of the Severan angle column. Since the pair of slots in the south chapel are cut in the filling of the blocked south-east door and cannot therefore be connected with the Severan building, it follows that both pairs must belong to the sixth century and must be explained in terms of the fittings of the church. The fill beneath the sixth-century paving of the east chapel included the lotus-and-acanthus capital of one of the Severan angle columns;[23] and the limestone pedestal-base of the south column was found to have been badly damaged before the floor was raised, suggesting that the timber ceiling of this, as of the west chapel (see p. 111), had perhaps already collapsed before the Byzantine reconquest (pl. XXII, *b*).

Finally, it may be noted that, in addition to the architectural elements taken from the Severan arch[24] and from the dismantled order of the north-west apse of the basilica itself, the Byzantine architects made use of a number of re-used marble elements taken from other parts of the basilica and forum, or from the adjoining buildings. One such is the altar slab described on the previous page. The platform built out from the south-east apse to carry the presbytery contains several Pentelic capitals and bases, which may have come from the dismantled Severan corner chapels, and at least three inscriptions.[25] It also incorporated three caryatid figures in Proconnesian marble, two of which were extracted for examination (pls. XXV, XXVI). They belong to a series of which one complete and several fragmentary examples had already turned up in the previous excavations. The average height (allowing for breaks) is about 1·50 m., including the low moulded plinth upon which the figure stands and the bevelled cornice above, and there is a socket in the upper surface for a cramp to tie the whole block back to the masonry of the wall against which it stood. The head is destroyed in every case; but the material and workmanship and the quality of the drapery are unmistakably Severan. The discovery within the basilica of fragments of at least half a dozen of these figures may perhaps be taken to show that they come from the basilica itself, and their elongated proportions suggest that they were probably used at a considerable height above the ground; but their exact position within the building has yet to be determined.

There remain several problems upon which excavation may still be expected to throw light. Nothing is yet known of what underlies the forum and basilica. The site of the colonnaded street may well be made ground throughout, reclaimed from the

[23] Inscribed on the under surface with the mason's signature cut in Greek characters, cf. *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, 799, 800, 800a. The full text could not be read within the trench excavated.

[24] Two large angle-pilaster capitals in the pulpit, and sections of the angle pilasters themselves in the chancel screen, Ward Perkins and Goodchild, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, *a* and *b*.

[25] *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, 400, 429, and 651.

adjacent wadi-bed, as it certainly is at the head of the street, towards the Severan piazza and the Hadrianic Baths.[26] But the irregular plan of the forum and basilica can hardly be explained otherwise than as the result of conforming to a pre-existing street-plan, an inference that finds some confirmation in the existence of a first-century or early second-century arch of grey limestone, incorporated in the north-west wall of the colonnaded street, 100 m. to the north-east of the basilica. An attempt to examine the site of a hypothetical prolongation, beneath the forum, of the line of the broad first-century street that separates insulae 7 and 8 of Region V[27] was baffled by the presence of a raft of very hard concrete, more than 40 cm. thick, beneath the bedding for the marble pavement; and a sounding near the north-east end of the forum revealed what appears to be the same concrete raft. It seems likely that the whole area of the forum rests on a similarly massive footing, making excavation without mechanical equipment prohibitively costly both in time and in labour. It remains, nevertheless, a task of great importance for the understanding of the architecture of the Severan complex to discover what the site was like when the architect took it over, and what exactly were the features that determined his choice of plan. In passing, it may be noted that the suggestion[28] that the Severan buildings incorporate substantial parts of a pre-existing monument is no longer tenable. There were numerous modifications of detail during the course of the work;[29] but the only major change of plan that can be detected in the central group is an afterthought, the addition of a colonnaded passageway along the north-east flank of the basilica, to connect the colonnaded street with the existing street-plan of Region V.

The new detailed survey of the surviving remains, undertaken in 1951, will throw light on several disputed problems. There remain, however, still to be determined, several vital features of the superstructure; and we still know very little indeed about the outside of the building. On both these points, further excavation should provide fresh evidence. The south-east end wall of the building still lies, untouched, where it fell across the north-west portico of the colonnaded street. The corresponding north-west wall, with its Caracallan dedicatory inscription, was in part re-erected by Guidi;[30] but the upper part still lies, as it fell, spread out over the sand-dunes that cover Region V, insula 11. Until both these sites have been cleared, the material for a definitive restoration of the basilica will not be available.

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[26] As proved by excavation in 1951.

[27] *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, map 5, p. 281. The street-plan to which this street belongs goes back to the end of the first century B.C.; but we do not know how far the earlier town extended down it, towards the wadi.

[28] P. Romanelli, *Leptis Magna*, Rome, 1925, pp. 102–3; R. Bartoccini, *Africa Italiana*, i, 1927, pp. 60–2.

[29] *E.g.*, the features cited by Bartoccini (*loc. cit.*), which are the result of a decision, taken during the course of the work, to veneer the whole of the lower part of the interior of the basilica in marble; or the substitution within the two apses of an elaborate, canopy-like central feature in place of the uniform double order originally planned (Bartoccini, *Africa Italiana*, ii, 1928–9, pp. 33 ff.). Giovannoni's *a priori* criticisms of this feature (*Palladio*, i, 1927, pp. 183–4) have not been borne out by subsequent work: the workmanship is unquestionably Severan.

[30] G. Guidi, *Africa Italiana*, ii, 1928–9, pp. 231 ff.; *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, 427.

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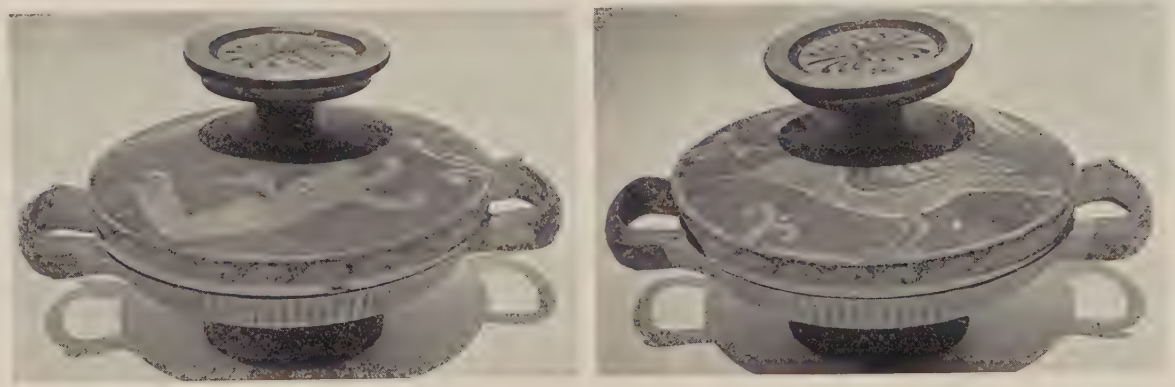

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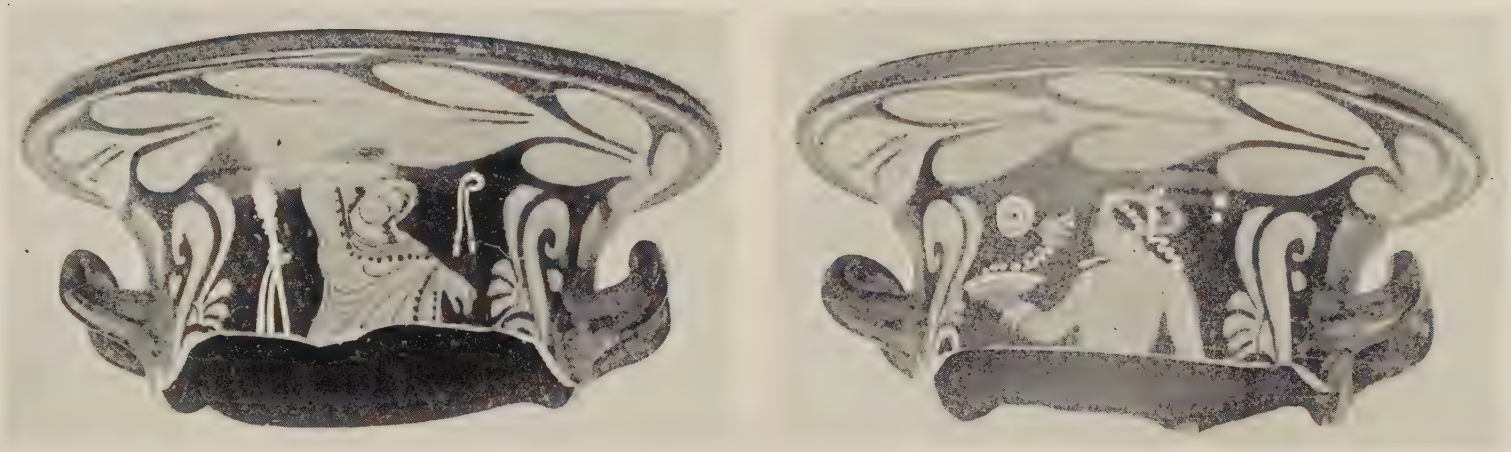

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(*Crown Copyright*)

a. Gasr el-Haddadía (*Tugulus*), from the North-east: Roman Fort (*right*) and Early-Islamic Fort (*left*)

(*David J. Smith*)

b. Gráret Gser et-Trab (Arae Philaenorum), from the North, looking Towards Gebel el-Ala: Late Enclosure of Column-drums and (over car) Corner of Building A.

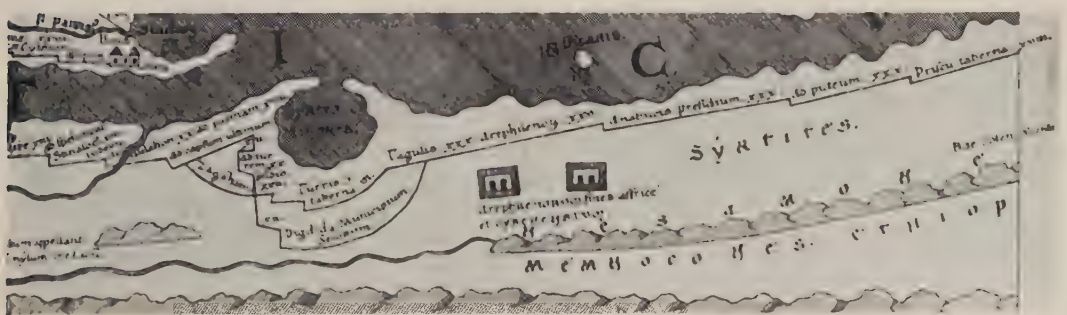
David I. Smith

a. Inscribed Column drum (Inscription 2)

b. Capital with Recesses for Feet of Statue

c. Corner of Building A

(*Photos b and c, R.G.G.*)



d. Extract from Peutinger Map: Road-stations on the Syrtic Gulf

Gráret Gser et-Trab (*Arae Philaenorum*)

(*Dept. of Antiquities, Tripolitania*)

(*British School*)

LEPCIS MAGNA, SEVERAN BASILICA: SOUTH CHAPEL, BLOCKED SEVERAN DOOR AND REMAINS OF FIFTH-CENTURY NICHE

(*British School*)

a.

(*British School*)

b.

LEPTIS MAGNA, SEVERAN BASILICA: SOUTH CHAPEL, FIFTH-CENTURY STRUCTURES BELOW THE BYZANTINE PAVING; IN THE FOREGROUND, THE CENTRAL NICHE

a. South Chapel, Byzantine Vaulting

b. East Chapel, South Pier of Byzantine Vaulting, resting on Severan Base

East Chapel, Slots in South-east Wall and South Pier

Lepcis Magna, Severan Basilica

(*Photos, J.B.W.P.*)

a. South Chapel: Central Niche, during Excavation; the Scale marks the Byzantine Floor-level

b. Angle of Northwest Apse and Late Steps

c. South Chapel, Scar of Slab at Base of Central Niche

Lepcis Magna, Severan Basilica

(*Photos, J.B.W.P.*)

(J.B.W.P.)

a. Angle of North-west Apse and Late Steps

(J.B.W.P.)

b. The Same, Steps Removed

Lepcis Magna, Severan Basilica

a.

(*Photos, British School*)

LEPCIS MAGNA. SEVERAN BASILICA CARYATID FIGURES (HT. OF *a*, 1·50 M.; *b* AND *c* TO SCALE)

(*J.B.W.P.*)

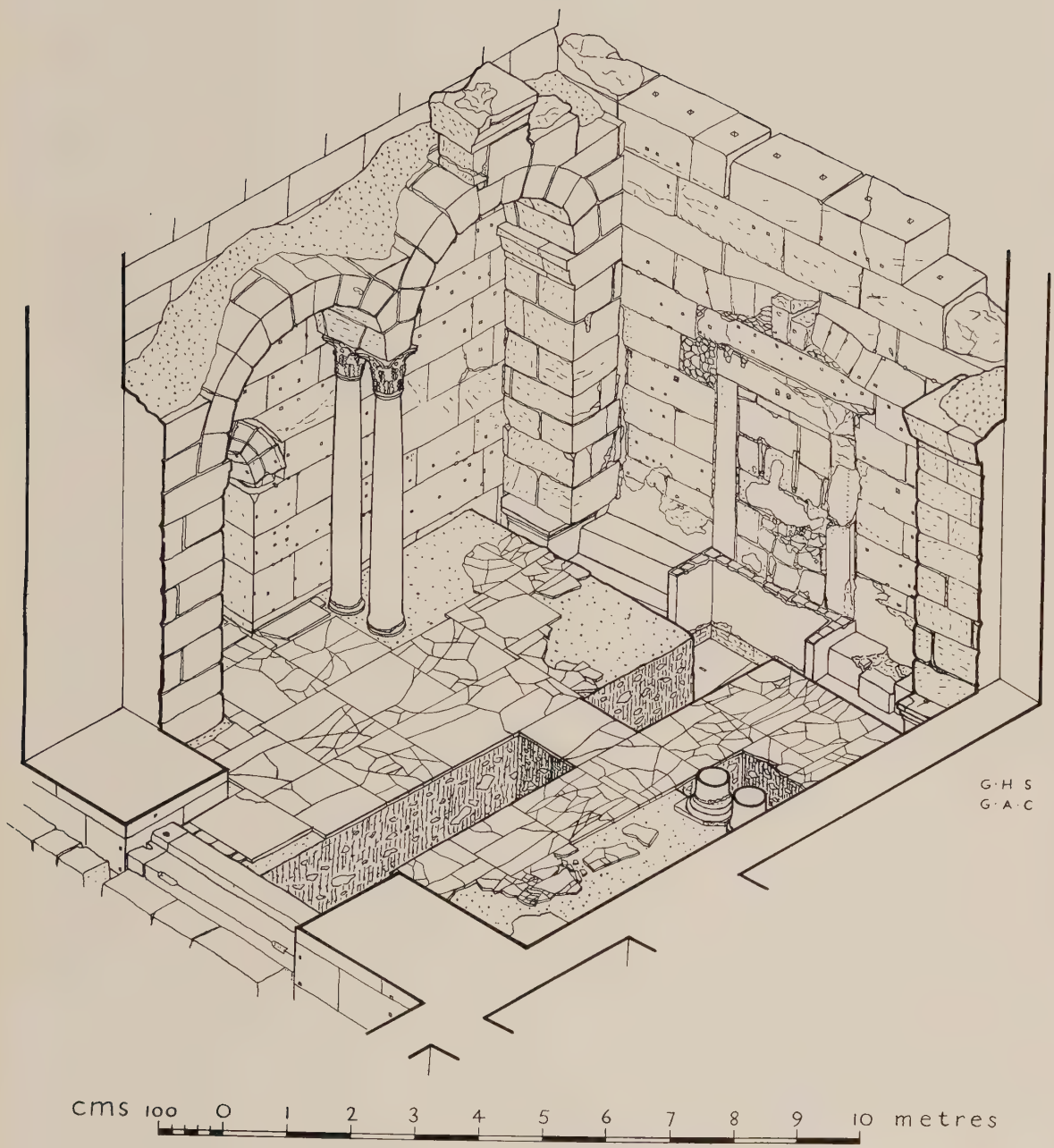
a.

(*J.B.W.P.*)

b.

LEPCIS MAGNA. SEVERAN BASILICA. DETAILS OF CARYATID FIGURES

PLATE XXVI



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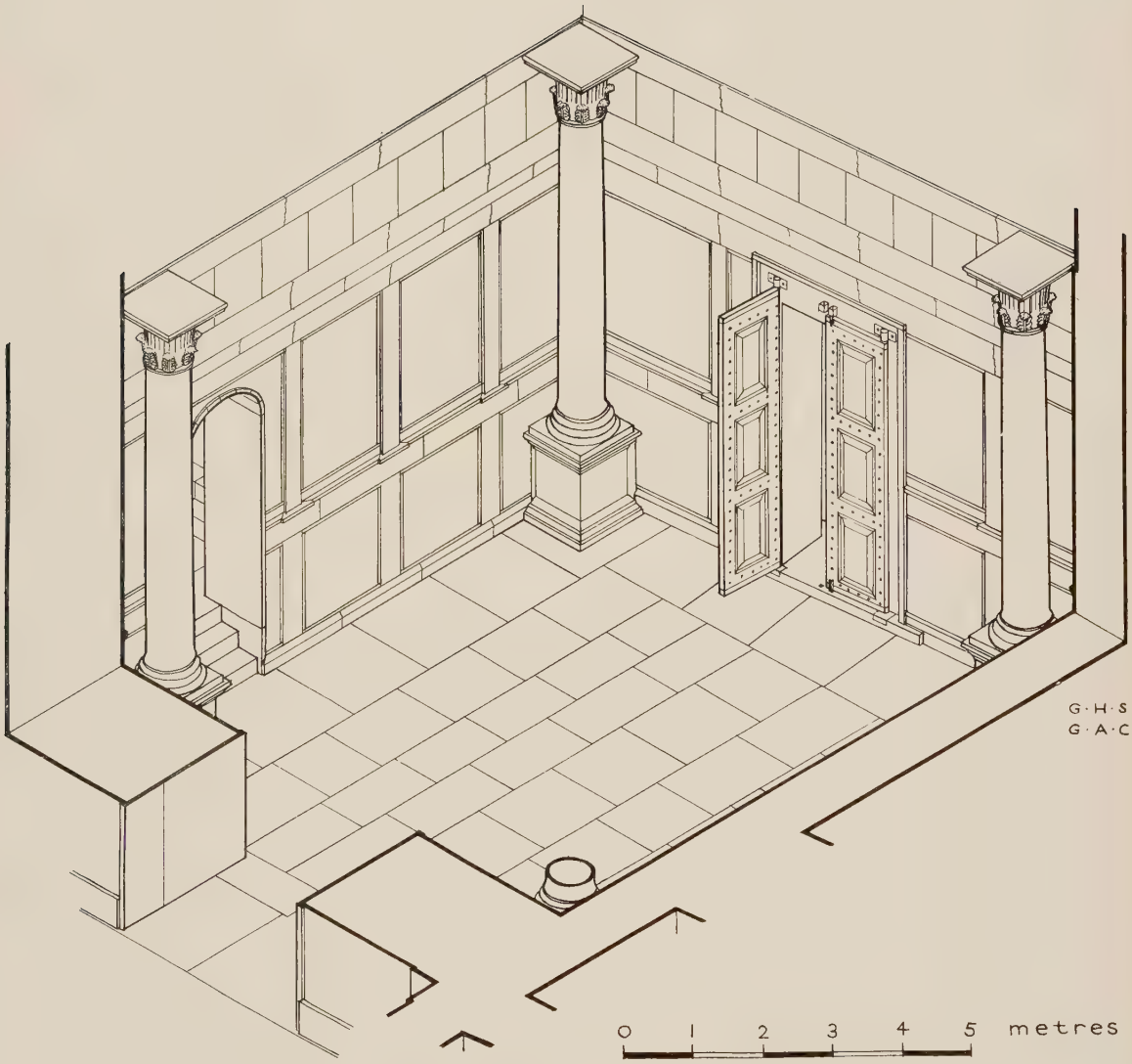

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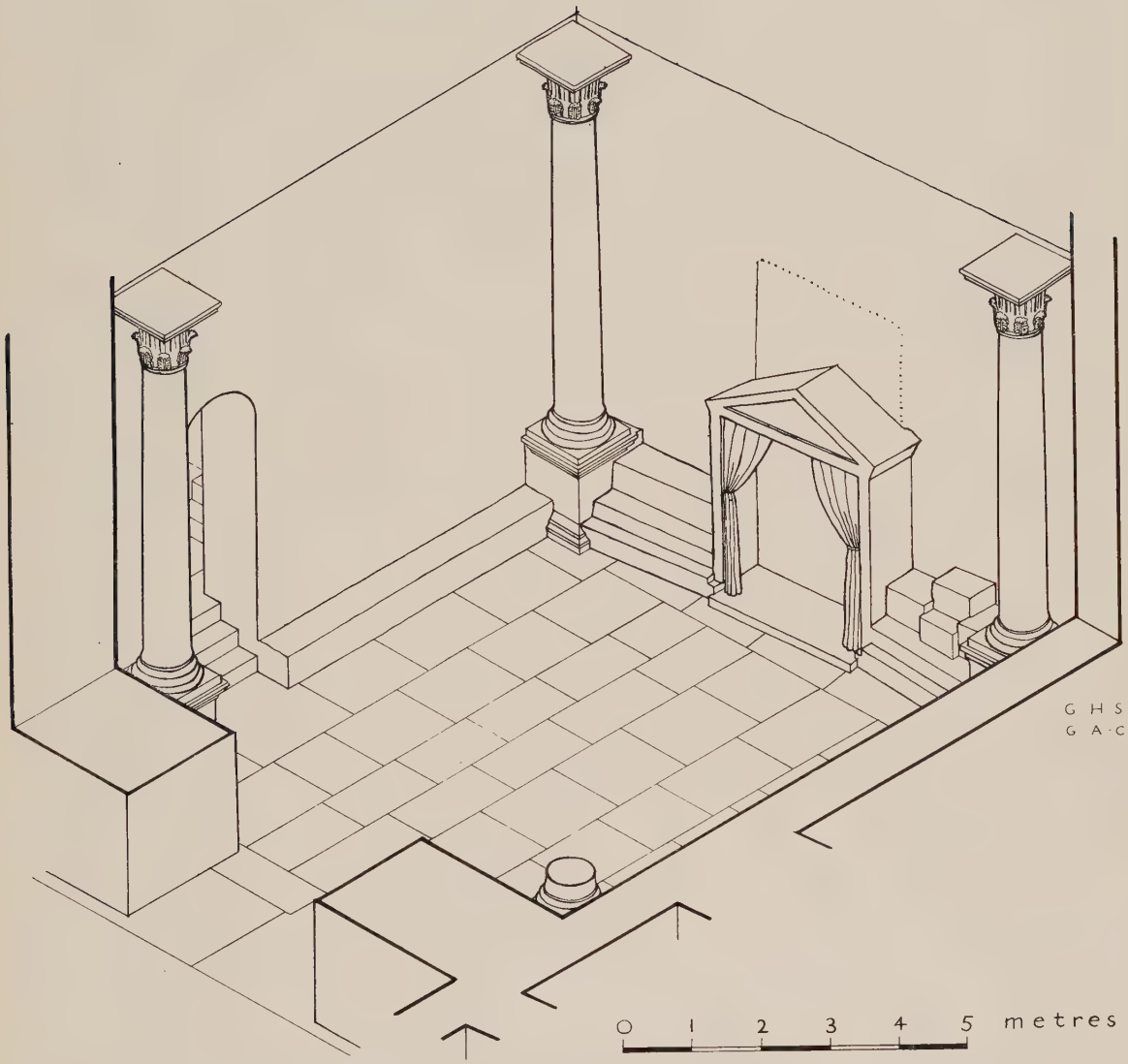

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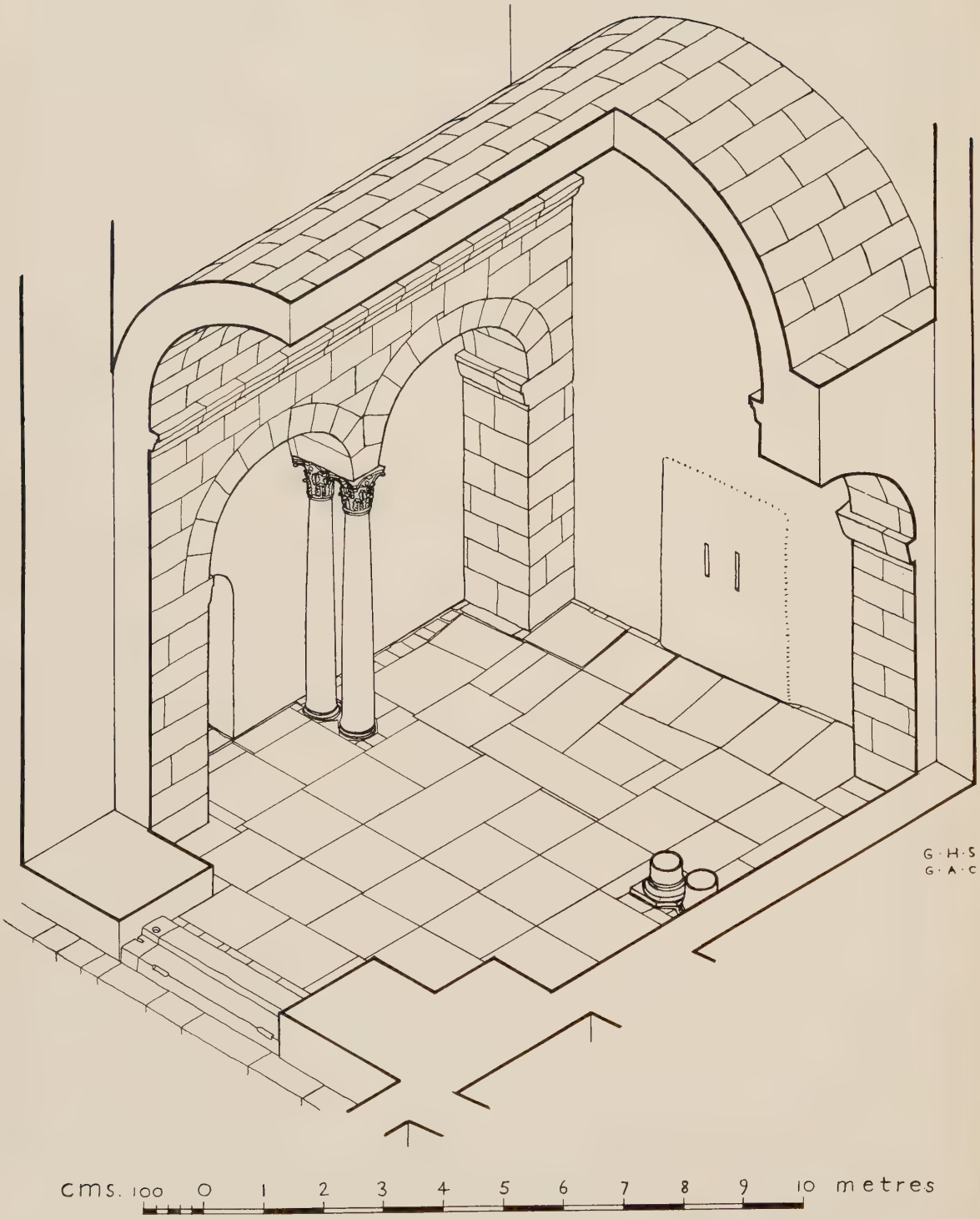

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